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A

CHRONICLE HISTORY

OF THE

LONDON STAGE

1559—1642

BY

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"THE LIFE AND WORK OF SHAKESPEARE",

"BIOGRAPHICAL CHRONICLE OF THE ENGLISH DRAMA, 1559—1642", ETC.

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To

THE AUTHOR

OF

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH DRAMATIC LITERATURE

WITH RESPECTFUL ADMIRATION;

TO

ADOLPHUS WILLIAM WARD

WITH GRATEFUL AFFECTION.

Amid the multitudinous babbling tongues,
Whose plaudits smirch our elder makers' fame,
One voice clear-ringing gives due laud or blame
To each, in turn, where laud or blame belongs.
Not his, to wound with unincited wrongs:
Nor his, men's trivial errors to proclaim:
His, the true mean: wise, thoughtful, still the same,
High raised o'er nameless, rankless, critic throngs.
From him, whose heart-warm and unsought-for praise[1]
Has cheered me through my long and difficult task,
Now, while I lay it finisht at his feet,
A calm, considerate doom I dare to ask:
But *for* him from the world I claim, as meet,
A full, triumphant, kingly crown of bays.

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[1] In the Preface to Dr. Ward's second edition of Doctor Faustus and Friar Bacon, 1887: "Mr. Fleay, whose new 'Life of Shakespeare' will, in my opinion, before long be acknowledged as one of the most important works on the history of the Elizabethan drama which this age has produced."

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CHRONICLE HISTORY OF THE STAGE.

INTRODUCTION: GENERAL.

THE unflagging interest in everything connected with Shakespeare is manifested by the daily additions to the enormous mass of so-called literature under which his memory groans: no guess is too wild, no hypothesis too absurd, to meet with discussion and support at the hands of dramatic students, and even of the general reading public. Of this literature by far the greater part would have been at once dismissed as valueless, had there existed any trustworthy history of the stage for the period during his career; and yet, however evident it may seem that such a ground-work of fact must be indispensable before the much-debated questions of the chronology of his plays and their bearing on contemporary events could be satisfactorily settled, no such history has yet been written. Malone, and to a much smaller extent Chalmers, gathered a mass of valuable materials which are accessible in the 1821 Shakespeare, edited by Boswell and quoted continually in the present volume as "Variorum;" but they are, from want of any distinct method of arrangement, extremely difficult to refer to, having neither Index, Contents, nor division under appropriate headings. Mr. Collier used these collections by Malone as the foundation of his "Annals of the Stage," quoted in my work from the second edition of 1879 as "Collier." He added some documents gleaned from the State Papers and the Municipal Records, but unfortunately a much larger number of guesses and forgeries. His knowledge of the subject-matter was considerable; but in order to avoid palpable contradictions

between ascertained facts and spurious documents inconsiderately and hastily issued, he was compelled to sophisticate even the genuine documents which he used to so great an extent that no statement of his can be accepted as accurate, until on other evidence it has been confirmed. I intended to have pointed out all his swervings from accuracy in this book; but finding that it would have seriously increased the bulk of my work, I have cancelled all such references, except in the first section, which, containing the fewest forged documents, is the most favourable section for Mr. Collier, but at the same time requires, for that very reason, less waste of space in correcting him.

Since Collier's book, no attempt until the present has been made to present the stage history of the Tudor-Stuart time with any fulness; it is due to the reader to state what is the scope and method of my work.

The Period included is from 1559 to 1642, *i.e.*, the reigns of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. Little exception will probably be taken to my closing at the time of the discontinuance of public acting and the outbreak of the Civil War; but it will almost certainly be objected that I should have given a preliminary sketch of the origin of the Drama. It might be sufficient to answer that I have little new matter to bring forward on earlier times, and that this work has been sufficiently well done by others who felt a greater interest in it than I do; but I have a better answer. The main interest of all students of this period of dramatic literature, the highest outcome of the highest form of imaginative art known in man's history, undoubtedly centres in its culmination in Shakespeare and his environment of mighty contemporaries, many of whom were important enough to have been of chief position in any time not overshadowed by his supereminent greatness. Now, the time included, from the birth of Shakespeare to the death of his latest survivor of eminence, Jonson, is from 1564 to 1637, a period of seventy-four years, exactly divided by the close and beginning of the centuries, thirty-seven years lying in the sixteenth, and thirty-seven in the seventeenth. An addition of five years at each end of this period

brings us to 1558, November 17, and 1642, August; *i.e.*, from the accession of Elizabeth to the outbreak of the Civil War, which ten additional years, considering the great influence of the Court in matters dramatic at this time, it seemed desirable to include. Still more desirable does it seem to take these limits of date when we consider that the birth of the English Drama as marked by the production of the first English tragedy of Gorboduc, and the first English comedy, Ralph Royster Doister (based, as we shall see hereafter, on an old interlude of c. 1551), took place in 1560–1, and the last expiring effort of this most vital of all literatures was the production of Shirley's play, The Sisters, in 1642, April. The centre of this period was notable for the "War of the Stages," 1599–1601, between Jonson and Chapman on the one side, and Dekker, Marston, Monday, Daniel, &c., on the other; Shakespeare, the impartial umpire, taking part in the contest, but for his own hand, and siding with neither extreme. This central meeting-point of the centuries also marks the centre of Shakespeare's career as a writer, which extended from 1589 to 1611; and it was, curiously enough, also the mean epoch between the building of the first public theatre, "The Theater," in 1576, and the last, the rebuilt "Fortune," in 1623–4; it was also the date of Shakespeare's production of his first great tragedies (Julius Cæsar, 1600, Hamlet, and perhaps Macbeth, when he was appointed one of the players of James as King of Scotland in 1601); these latter dates are here given merely as helps to the memory. Thus much for the period treated of.

Next as to the scope. I have traced the annals of all Court performances of plays and masks; of such University plays as have interest in connexion with the Court, the London stage, or our general literature; of every play-place in London, with the companies who acted in them, their component members, their poets, and the plays by them written; the licenses given by the Master of the Revels for acting of plays; and the inhibitions of playing on account of the Plague; together with all other such general information as I should have desired for my own instruction as a student. I have not given (except incidentally) any

treatment of Mysteries, Miracle Plays, or Moralities anterior to 1559; nor the lives of actors outside of their theatrical careers (those of them who were also poets, however, I shall treat of in a future volume, in which the biography of every known dramatist for this period and the chronology of his writings will be discussed in full); nor any account of the manner of representation, prices of admission, and the like, which have been adequately treated by Malone; nor any *literatim* reproduction of documents. This last item would have been desirable, could I reckon on an unusually extended lease of life; but I have already laid out for myself plans of work more extensive than I shall probably live to perform. It will be easy (though laborious) for some successor to do this, as I have given references to the places where such documents are to be found; and in some cases, where I have only seen Collier's imprints of them, I could not have given the documents in full without risk of serious clerical errors. Dr. Ingleby has shown how very lax Collier was in his copying, even where no suspicion of forgery or interpolation has been suggested. For the same reason I have used modern spelling and modern dates (with the year ending December 31, not March 25) throughout; having found the use of any other notation confusing both to writer and reader. All conjectural matter, even when nearly certain, is included between square brackets.

The sources whence I have chiefly obtained my information are, of course, the 1821 Shakespeare (quoted as Variorum); Cunningham's "Revels at Court," published by the Shakespeare Society (Revels); "Henslow's Diary" (Diary); Stow's "Chronicle," 1631 edition, with Howe's additions (always quoted as "Stow"); Cohn's "Shakespeare in Germany;" the Bills of Mortality; Sir Harris Nicolas' "Chronology of History;" Heylin's "Help to History;" Collins' "Peerage;" Arber's "Stationers' Registers" (S. R.); Nichols' "Progresses of Elizabeth and James" (Nichols); Maitland's "History of London;" but, above all, the MS. tables compiled by myself of the Actors, Companies, Theatres, Plays, and Poets from the title-pages of plays in the editions published by Dyce (the king of editors) and others, aided by Hazlitt's "Handbook" and

Bohn's "Lowndes." I may add that Gifford's and Cunningham's "Jonson" and Halliwell's "Dictionary of Old Plays" (a spoiled *rechauffé* of the unjustly abused "Biographia Dramatica,") are, as well as this last-named compiler's "Life of Shakespeare" (except in the reprinted documents, which, like his "Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare" (Illustrations), are of great use, though muddled in arrangement), utterly misleading from want of accuracy. A writer who could in 1860, after many years' work on the early drama, reprint a droll taken from Fletcher's "M. Thomas" (Father's own Son) as a portion of "a lost play," and before this could publish the beginning of Middleton's "Mayor of Quinborough" (Hengist) without recognising its authorship, was neither in judgment nor knowledge fit to pronounce a verdict on difficult questions of dramatic criticism; while Gifford's reason was so warped by his personal feelings, to say nothing of his gross inaccuracy, as to utterly unfit him for his position as editor. I had hoped for aid from the lives in the "New Dictionary of Biograpy;" but such as I have examined (except the life of Alleyn, which is excellently done) reproduce all the old errors of Collier, &c., and add nothing new. Other sources used are sufficiently indicated in the body of the work: I have mentioned these especially in order to indicate between parentheses the short names by which I have quoted them.

Finally as to method: I have carefully eschewed the plan of a merely chronological arrangement, by which Collier sought to give a factitious unity to his book, and to hide his utter failure to properly affiliate the companies and assign their places of acting. For the requirements of study it is absolutely needed that the Court performances should be kept distinct from those at public play-places; and for the reigns of James and Charles, it is desirable that Masks in which the Court and Royal Family were actors should be kept apart from the paid presentations of plays by public performers: I have subdivided my sections accordingly. Again, unless the one object of tracing the history of each company is kept solely in view for the time, it is not possible to unravel the complicated and delicate problems now solved for the

first time as to their chronological succession; but this once done, it is comparatively easy to state the dates of occupation of the theatres by each company in separate tables of reference. This also I have done. Much confusion has been produced in this subject by the importation of notices of acting in provincial towns into the general history of the stage, and the consequent enormous apparent increase in the number of companies. These notices, unless when connected with some point of general interest, I have carefully eliminated. The companies of Lord Stafford, Sir James Fitz-James, Lord Montague, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Edward Rogers, Lord Berkley, Lord Sheffield, &c., have left no trace in our literature; and, however interesting to the antiquarian an account of their proceedings would be in a separate work, I find no room for them in a book intended in the first place as an aid to the literary student.

As I could not well omit all notice of the poets who wrote for each company and their plays, and as to have fully treated of them would have led me into literary questions of a tone quite foreign to the rest of the book, I have confined this part of the subject to a list which may be looked on as a sort of diary (with only very rough dates), after the fashion of Henslow's. The determination of exact dates would have anticipated my future book; and to give dates without proof is, I know by experience, not desirable. These lists, arranged under companies and theatres, will be found exceedingly useful for reference, no such index having been hitherto published; and they will serve as a basis for my future publication, while they will not, as being of totally different arrangement, be by it superseded.

The licenses by the Masters of the Revels form other separate sections in the latter chapters: they are restored from the disintegrated fragments to which Malone and Collier degraded them, and will be found much more convenient for use.

The licenses for printing from S. R. have been already given by me in my "Life of Shakespeare," to which the present work is complementary, as extracted from Arber, and do not need to be repeated.

Finally, everything that concerns the stage generally, or several companies of actors, or that could not be referred to the other sections, is placed at the close of each chapter in a section by itself, while at the beginning of each chapter I have inserted an introduction pointing out what seem to me the main points of interest in each period. So much of this history must, if it is to be of any use, consist of tables, lists, and the like, to be used for reference, but utterly unreadable as continuous history, that I thought it desirable in this way to relieve its tedium (which is only disguised in Collier) to the best of my ability.

As it is intended by this division into sections to provide for the separate study of the Court presentations, public performances, and publications for private reading; so I think it absolutely requisite by a division into chapters to make it easy to examine all these together for shorter periods than that of the entire range of this book. The main divisions are fixed at once by the succession of sovereigns whose character and influence had a predominant share in determining the nature of theatrical productions. Other minor divisions I have made, without regard to the length of the chapters, by the occurrence of great plague years, when, the play-places being shut for a considerable time, great changes invariably took place in the constitution and allocation of the companies. Two out of the three greatest plague years coincide with the kings' accessions; the others occurred in 1586, 1593, 1636. The divisions thus obtained may be thus characterised:—

1. In 1558, November, Elizabeth succeeded to the throne. During the first period of the Infancy or Dawn of the Drama little was accomplished beyond preparation for the next stage.

2. In 1586 there was a plague of considerable importance, followed, in 1587, by the advent of Marlowe, Lodge, Greene, and Peele (the University group of playwrights), as writers for the public theatres. This was also the epoch of Shakespeare's adopting the occupation of a player. I would call the ensuing period that of Childhood or Sunrise.

3. In 1593 came a still more important plague. Marlowe

died in this year, Greene one year earlier. These were the greatest names as yet for tragedy and comedy. In 1594 Shakespeare began to write without a coadjutor. The ensuing period I would call that of Youth or Morning.

4. In 1603 James succeeded to the throne; there was another great plague; R. Wilson, the chief interpreter of the puppets in the first period, died; the Rose, where Shakespeare's first theatrical performances took place, was finally closed; and the great change in Shakespeare's method of work, commonly called the division between his second and third periods, took place. I call this the period of Manhood or Noon.

5. In 1613 the Lady Elizabeth was married (Prince Henry had died only a few months before); Beaumont retired from play-writing; the Globe, Shakespeare's theatre, was burned, while his last play, Henry VIII. (not as we have it; that is a restoration by Fletcher and Massinger), was being performed. Then follows the Middle Age or Afternoon.

6. In 1625 Charles came to the crown, and the third great plague followed; Fletcher died; Shirley and Davenant began their work. Then came the Old Age or Evening, bright and hale, but distinctly declining towards Sunset.

7. In 1636–7 another great plague; Jonson died; a rabble of courtiers began to press their plays on public acceptance by hiring the actors to perform them. Decrepitude, the Gloaming before Nightfall, set in, and in 1642 came Death, not followed by resurrection until Shelley and Browning appeared among us as writers. But the stage on which they will be presented is not yet. The present time is not worthy of them.

For many reasons, I think these divisions, which so strangely coincide with great public events, important theatrical changes, and the advent or close of the work of all our greatest dramatists, will commend themselves to the reader.

I do not remember any further matters that need explanation. I have only to say, in conclusion, that since 1874, when my first paper was read, and the New Shakspere Society formed (which so soon forgot, and still refuses to recognise, me), I have almost

without intermission worked on this subject, and that I distinctly claim, firstly, that this is the first treatise that has any just right to be called a history of the Shakespearian stage; and, secondly, that in no stage history whatever are so many intricate problems solved and critical difficulties removed, with such apparently slender resources, as in this one. I say this without in any way impugning the many varied excellences of my friend Professor A. W. Ward's History of English Dramatic Literature; for I know that he would be the last to wish to add to the golden crown of that important criticism the humbler wreath which belongs to the chronicler of the stage. The present work is intended to be a necessary complement and companion to Professor Ward's.

Note.—The statement on page 4 as to the non-reproduction of documents must be modified. Since the type of this Introduction was set up, Mr. James Greenstreet has most courteously enriched this book with much new matter, discovered by him, and placed absolutely at my disposal. These documents are given in full; and their addition enables me to state that more than one-half (without them I could only have said two-fifths) of the present work consists of matter of which no trace will be found in Collier.

CHAPTER I.

SECTION A.

INTRODUCTION (1559–1586).

THE subsequent sections will be found to contain all the dry details which are requisite for the student of the history of the stage. Their excessive minuteness, which is absolutely necessitated by the fragmentary nature of our information, renders it desirable that they should be preceded by some general observations of a less formal character and more comprehensive range, in order that the progress of the drama, as a whole, may be more readily comprehensible. Hence these introductory sections, in which a far less strictly chronological arrangement will be observed. At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the stages, that is to say, the inn-yards occupied as play-places, were used by the men players, under the patronage of the principal noblemen and gentry connected with the Court, or by certain boy companies who were formed out of the choirs of the Royal chapels. There were also players of interludes directly connected with the Royal household, but these latter have left no mark on dramatic history, and may be passed by with a simple recognition of their existence; they probably attended the Queen on her progresses, and were of little importance, if of any, in the development of the drama. To all these were gradually added performances by boys of the larger grammar schools, who had no public play-place, and presented their performances at Court only. In fact, the principal reason for the existence of any players at all must be looked for in Court fashion and Royal patronage. Had it not been for the

Queen's liking for the drama, which had been shown as early as in her brother's reign, and for the courtiers' imitation of her taste, shown by the adoption of dramatic entertainments at christenings, marriages, &c., it would have been long before the stage would have emerged from its earlier condition as a mere vehicle for the production of mysteries, miracles, and moral interludes. As it was, however, the Queen's classical reading inclined her to demand, and the Universities readily supplied, translations and imitations of Latin and Greek plays, as well as original Latin plays of similar character. The favourite models were Terence and Plautus for Comedy, Seneca and Euripides for Tragedy. It was merely an economical proceeding, a saving of Court expenses by allowing rehearsals, so to say, to be performed to and at the cost of Her Majesty's liege subjects, that lay at the root of the system of keeping up the public play-places in inn-yards. The few boys' companies who were formed of the scholars of Westminster Merchant Taylors, &c, soon fell out of the race, as they had no means of recouping their heavy expenses, which must have greatly exceeded the Court rewards. Speaking roughly, some five or six companies every year exhibited in public the best plays they could procure, comedies and tragedies when obtainable; moral interludes, which gradually approximated more and more to the classical model, when nothing better could be got. Out of these some half-dozen of the best were selected for reproduction before the Queen at Christmas or Shrovetide, and then began the preparations for the next year's festivities. The point which I endeavour, by even a tedious reiteration, to insist on as a necessary condition to the understanding all subsequent stage history is the absolute subordination of public performances to Court presentations.

Out of this arose the multiplicity of play-places in the City, some half-dozen inns becoming appropriated to that purpose. The concourse of people to popular performances; the hindrance to traffic caused by the processions of players through the streets; the annoyance to peaceable or studious inhabitants by their drums and trumpets, which must have been nearly as great as that of

organ-grinders, Salvationists, board-school bells, or Sunday-school drum and fife bands at the present day; the interruption of services in churches, at the very doors of which the musicians or "noises" of the players emitted their "silver sounds;" the danger of increasing the infection by the thronged multitudes in plague-time, gave abundant opportunities to the Lord Mayor and Common Council of London to exert their authority in every available way in endeavouring to expel the players from the City.

This effort, aided, though to a far less extent than is usually supposed, by the Puritanical feelings of the citizens and their representatives, brought on a long struggle between the Privy Council, representing the Court, and the Common Council of the City. The City obtained the victory, and put down all the play-places within their walls. But their victory, as usual in all cases of over-legislation, was equivalent to a defeat, for the dispute had led to the establishment immediately outside the walls, although technically in the liberties, of "sumptuous theatres" expressly devoted to stage playing, which attracted far larger crowds than before, while the City was still subject to the nuisance of the processions. Of still greater importance was the establishment of a company, immediately after the suppression of the inn-yard performances in the City, directly under the Queen's personal patronage. It was one thing to deal with a nobleman's players, even such a favourite's as Leicester, but quite another thing to oppose the servants of her gracious Majesty.

With regard to the public performances of this period I need say little here. The conditions of production were not favourable to any general high degree of excellence. Plays written by command under a system of protection were not likely to transcend the dramatic ideal of her who required them. The generation of actor-writers—Tarleton, R. Wilson, and the like—who could not get beyond their old method of composing moral interludes for the groundlings, and even in their attempts at historic or romantic presentation felt obliged to retain some allegoric personages, were not likely at once to be superseded by the few university penmen

who, from their college rooms, sent up occasionally, when required, some mirthful toy, in which the interest centred rather in incident than in character, or some frigid tragedy inspired by the reading of Seneca by candle-light. Judging from the scanty remains of the literature (and we may rest assured that little, if anything, worth preserving has been lost), scarcely any advance was made between 1560 and 1587 beyond the familiarising the public mind with the feeling of discontent with the older forms of dramatic display. It was not till a third theatre was built and a freer competition established that the full mischief of the protective system could be fully recognised, of which more hereafter. I need here only note that the inferiority of the plays acted must, at the birth of the drama then, as it does in its second childhood now, have reacted on the presenters of them; and if we examine the "Jests of Tarleton," or any other relics of this period, we find them little superior to, though more spontaneous and less elaborate than, the forced fun of the burlesques of the present time; while the absence of the higher characteristics of poetic imagination and consistency of character are as conspicuous in the acted tragedies contemporaneous with Edmund Spenser as they are in those of the time of Robert Browning. The multiplicity of children's companies during the period under consideration must in many ways have been a hindrance to rapid development.

As to the form of the plays of that time, I would specially note that blank verse was at the first the obligatory metre of tragedy; the rhymed chorus at the end of each act being also indispensable. For comedy, however nearly verging on tragi-comedy, the rime doggerel or the ballad metre was used. The introduction of prose by Gascoigne and Lyly was decidedly an innovation. Dumb Shows and Inductions became popular towards the close of the period. But especially would I fix the reader's attention on the fact that satire, personal and political, formed one main staple of English comedy, as well in the earliest years of Elizabeth as in the latest of Charles I. In the plays of Misogonus and Damon and Pythias and Albion Knight this is

as strongly evidenced as it is in Jonson's Tale of a Tub or Massinger's King and Subject. In the record of Elizabeth's inhibition of the Chapel children in the second year of her reign we find the commencement of a struggle between the authorities who licensed the performance of plays, which had not ended when Herbert stopped Cane from playing in 1639, or burned Kirke's play in 1642. That the players were at any time of their own motion political partisans I think unlikely, but that some of their authors were, and that their connexion with companies under the patronage of important politicians was thereby greatly influenced, I regard as an established fact.

SECTION B.

COURT PERFORMANCES (1558–1586).

1559. Aug. 7, Monday.—At Nonesuch at night was a play of the children of Paul's, and their master Sebastian [Westcot] (Nichols, i. 74). Mr. Collier (i. 169) gives Aug. 5 for the date, and Eltham for the place, both wrongly. There was a mask on the preceding Sunday, Aug. 6.

1559. Dec. 31.—Was a play at the Court before the Queen; but they acted something so distasteful, that they were commanded to leave off: and immediately the mask came in and dancing (Nichols, i. 82). Mr. Collier (i. 169) gives the date as Christmas night 1558–9 (whatever that may mean) wrongly, and hazards an absurd conjecture (iii. 284) that the play was that of Albion Knight; but this play was so far from being distasteful that it was printed under authoritative license.

1560. Jan. 6.—Twelfth Night. A scaffold was set up in the Hall for a play, and after the play was over a fine Mask (Nichols, i. 82). Mr. Collier says (i. 169) this entertainment was superintended by Sir T. Cawarden, which would imply a Court performance. It was really acted in Guildhall before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c., after their attendance at service at St.

Paul's. There was, however, on this same evening a Mask performed before the Queen (but no play); as appears from a Revels estimate (given in full in Collier, i. 17) for "Four Masks with their Torchbearers set forth and shewn before the Queen's Majesty at Whitehall on New Year's even, New Year's day, and Twelfth day at night;" and at Shrovetide, "two masks of men and one mask of women with their torchbearers, a fountain, a rock and other furniture."

1560–1. Christmas.—On 1561, Jan. 21, payment was made for a play at Christmas by L. Rob. Dudley's players, and on Mar. 9 for one by the Paul's boys [at Shrovetide] under Sebastian Westcott (Revels, xxvii.). This item is omitted by Collier.

1562. Jan. 18.—"A play in the Queen's hall at Westminster by the gentlemen of the Temple, after a great Mask;" namely, Ferrex and Porrex, by Norton and Sackville. Compare title-page with MSS., Cotton, Vitellius, F.V. (Collier, i. 175).

1562. Feb. 1.—At night. "The goodliest Mask came out of London that ever was seen . . . and so to the Court . . . and Julius Cæsar played" (Collier, i. 176).

1562. Mar. 9.—Payment was made on this date to Sebastian Westcot for an interlude before the Queen by the Paul's boys.

1562. May 10.—A warrant for "Devises to be showd by way of Masking before the Queen's Majesty at Nottingham Castle after the meeting of the Queen of Scots" is extant (Lansdown MSS. No. 5). The meeting did not take place, and the devices were not "showd." The sketch of them is commonplace, and may be found in full in Collier (i. 178 *seq.*).

1563. Jan 10.—Chalmers extracts from the Council Register payments on this date for one play by L. Rob. Duddley's players, and one by the Paul's children under Seb. Westcott (omitted by Collier).

1563–4. Christmas.—Three plays were shown at Windsor at Christmas and Candlemas (MS. in State Paper Office, Collier, i. 182).

One of these was a "tragedy" (Damon and Pythias) by Richard Edwards, acted by the children of the Chapel, of whom he was

master: the others were acted by the boys of "the Grammar School of Westminster" and the Paul's children. It appears from the Prologue to Damon and Pythias that Edwards had given offence by a previous play—a comedy, a toying play, in which his muse had masked in Delight and ranged in young desires. He therefore craves pardon, and offers this serious "tragical comedy" for amends. As the Chapel children do not appear to have performed at Court during 1560, 1561, 1562, I infer that Edwards' offensive comedy was "stopped" on December 31, 1559.

The play acted by the Westminster boys was certainly another tragical comedy: Appius and Virginia, by R. B. It appears from the Prologue that it was acted by children, and was their "first attempt." No such description can apply to a play by the boys of Paul's and the Chapel, who had long acted at Court, and the date of the play in which the Merchant Taylors' boys first performed was in 1572–3. This leaves us no option as to the play performed; for Appius and Virginia, being published in 1567–8, could not have been the play by the Merchant Taylors' boys.

1564. About June.—Three masks were shown before the Queen and the French Ambassadors at Richmond. (Same MS.)

1564. Aug.—A Latin play, Dido, was acted before the Queen at Cambridge by the students of King's College. The omission of a chorus is specially noted apparently as an innovation in a Tragedy. This shows how firm a hold the Seneca form had on the earlier English Tragic writers. On Aug. 8, Ezechias, made by Mr. Udall, was acted by King's College men only at ix. of the clock at night. This was an English play. No inference can be drawn (as Mr. Collier supposed, i. 184) as to Udall's not dying in 1557. The play may have been an old one.

1564–5. Christmas.—On 1565, Jan. 18, payment was made for two plays by the Earl of Warwick's players, and one by the children of Paul's under S. Westcott (Revels, xxviii.). Collier omits this: it would have upset his conjectural date for Damon and Pythias.

1565. Feb. 18.—Sir Perceval Hart's sons performed a play

before the Queen; and at Shrovetide [Mar. 4–6] the gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented "shows."

1565. Mar. 9.—S. Westcott was payed for a play on Candlemas day acted by the Paul's boys.

1566. Sept. 3.—The Queen witnessed the performance of Palamon and Arcyte, written by R. Edwards, at Christ Church, Oxford, which was greatly liked; and on Sept. 5 a Latin play, Progne, by Dr. James Calfhill.

1567. Feb. 13.—John Taylor, master of the children of Westminster, was paid for a play on Shrovetide last [Feb. 9–11].

1567. July 14 to 1568, Mar. 3.—In this interval eight performances were shown before the Queen, namely—

Seven plays.
1. As plain as can be.
2. The painful pilgrimage.
3. Jack and Gill.
4. Six fools.
5. Wit and Will [The Marriage of Wit and Science.]
6. Prodigality [*Not* the Liberality and Prodigality of 1602].
7. Orestes.

One Tragedy. The King of Scots.

Six Masks: only four shown.

The "houses for the setting forth of the same" were Strato's house, Dobbin's house, Orestes' house, Rome, the palace of Prosperity, Scotland, and a great castle on the other side (Harl. MSS. 146; Collier, i. 187).

1568. The tragedy of Tancred and Gismunda was presented before the Queen by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple. Act i. by Rod. Staff; ii. by G. All.; iii. by Ch[ristopher] Hat[ton]; iv. by Hen[ry] No[el]; v. by R[obert] W[ilmot], who amended and published the play in 1592.

1568. Dec. 28.—Payments were made to Lord Rich's players for a play on St. Stephen's day: and shortly after to S. Westcott for a play by the Paul's boys on New Year's day.

1569. Jan. 2.—Payment was made to Richard Ferrante, schoolmaster to the children of Windsor, for a play by them on St. John's day: and on Feb. 25 for a play on Shrove Tuesday [Feb. 22].

1570. Jan. 7.—William Hunnys, Master of the children of her Majesty's chapel, was paid for a play on Twelfth day.

1570. Feb. 7.—Lord Rich's players were paid for a play on Shrove Sunday [Feb. 5]. For all these payments see "Revels," xxix. None of them are noticed by Collier. There is no evidence that the "Leyester's men," who received 2s. 6d. as a reward from the Corporation of Saffron Walden in 1571, were "players," as Mr. Collier calls them (i. 192). The amount is too small to favour his supposition.

From this date we get the advantage of the detailed accounts in the extant Revels Books. The following plays were shown at Christmas and Shrovetide in 1571–2 [Mr. Collier (i. 189) gives 1570–1 wrongly]:—

1571. Dec. 27.—On St. John's day, by Sir Robert Lane's men, Lady Barbara.

1571. Dec. 28.—On Innocent's day, by the Paul's children, Effigenia, a Tragedy.

1572. Jan. 1.—On New Year's day, by the children of Windsor, Ajax and Ulisses.

1572. Jan. 6.—On Twelfth day, by the children of the Chapel, Narcissus. The realism of the early stage is shown by a payment ("Revels," 11) for necessaries "for the hunters that made the cry after the fox (let loose in the Court) with their horns, hounds, and hallowing."

1572. Feb. 17.—On Shrove Sunday, by Sir R. Lane's men, Cloridon and Radiamanta.

1572. Feb. 19.—On Shrove Tuesday, by the children of Westminster, Paris and Vienna. These are names of personages, not of places (as I have seen it supposed by popular writers), for in "Revels," 8, we find a payment for the "hobby-horses that served the children of Westminster in the triumph (where Paris won the crystal shield for Vienna at the Tourney and Barriers.")

And on each night after the play, a mask.

These plays were "chosen out of many, and found to be the best that were then to be had."

1572. June 15–18.—A Mask was shown at Whitehall before her Majesty and "Duke Momerancie," ambassador of France, in which Apollo, the nine Muses (in a chariot), Lady Peace, Argus, and Discord were presented. This Mask was evidently a modified form of that prepared, but not shown, in May 1562, in which Discord, Argus, and Lady Peace were prominent characters. The castle for Lady Peace or Lady Plenty and the prison in which Discord is watched by Argus are mentioned in the list of properties in 1572, and their use is clearly shown in the plot of 1562. Apollo and the Muses no doubt formed a variant concluding triumph in the later Mask, in place of the vii. or viii. ladies in the earlier ("Revels," 17, 26).

1573. Jan. 12.—On the Council Register the following entries appear for plays:—

1572. Dec. 26.—To Laurence Dutton for Sir Ro. Laue's men for a play on St. Stephen's day.

1572. Dec. 27.—To Richard Ferraunt for the children of Windsor for a play on St. John's day.

1573. Jan. 1.—To S. Westcott for the children of Paul's for a play on New Year's day.

1573. Jan. 6.—To John (?) Honys for the Chapel children for a play on Twelfth day.

And on 1573, Feb. 29, similar entries:—

To L. Dutton [for Sir R. Lane's men] for a play on Shrove Sunday.

To the master of the children of Westminster for a play on Shrove Tuesday.

But these entries (as given by Chalmers, "Variorum," iii. 423, 445) palpably belong to 1571–2. With the play-list above they agree, with the exception of transpositions in the first three items, and substitution of December 26 for December 28. With the 1572-3 list they are at absolute variance in every way. And that the whole entry is careless (probably through the confused

state of the Revels office in this year and the next) is evident from the mistake of John Hunnis for William. Neither would the Shrovetide payments have been so long delayed as to February 29 for plays acted February 1 and 3 (the 1573 dates). The delay even from February 17 and 19 (the 1572 dates) was at this period a long one. Payment was usually made two days after performance. Collier omits these entries altogether.

The true list for 1572 (Christmas to 1573, Shrovetide) has to be made out from the Revels charges as best we may. There were plays by—

1. The children of Eton or Windsor under R. Farrant.
2. „ „ Merchant Taylors under Richard Munkester.
3. „ „ Westminster under Will. Elderton.
4. „ „ Paul's under S. Westcott (omitted by Collier).
5. The men of L. Leicester.
6. „ „ [L. Warwick] "under the Duttons." This company was probably set up when Warwick was sworn Privy Councillor, 1572 (Nichols, iii. 39).

Among the plays performed were Theagines and Cariclia[1] (Chariclea) and a play of Fortune. There was a "double mask" on New Year's Night. Among the properties I note: Frozen heads, Turks' heads, A monster in which Benbow played, Women maskers' hats, Mariners' sheaths [qy. sheaves], Fishers maskers' nets, Spears for play of Cariclia, Holly for Dutton's play, Holly for Forest, Fisherman's trays, Palmer's staff, Desk for Farrant's play, Vizard for ape's face, Key and hailstones for Janus, Altar for Theagines, Andromeda's picture [for Chariclea], Black physician's beard, Palmer's hair, Two squirts for Paul's children, The Monarch's gown, &c. Mr. Collier (i. 202) has mixed up the Mask for June 1572 with these plays. They were obscure enough before. The Andromeda picture had nothing to do with Perseus, but belonged to the Theagines story.

[1] This play was probably the same as the Queen of Ethiopia, acted by Lord C. Howard's men at Bristol, September 1578 (Collier's "Introduction to Northbrook's Treatise," p. viii.), which Mr. Collier could not identify. How it came into their hands would be easy to guess, but hard to prove.

1573. c. Nov.—A mask of wild men was shown at Greenwich after the marriage of William Drury, Esquire.

1573. Dec. 26.—Predor and Lucia, played by the Earl of Leicester's servants on St. Stephen's day at Whitehall.

1573. Dec. 27.—Alkmeon, played by the children of Paul's on St. John's day.

1573. Dec. 28.—Mamillia, played by Leicester's servants on Innocent's day.

1574. Jan. 1.—Truth Faithfulness and Mercy, by the children of Westminster for Elderton on New Year's day.

1574. Jan. 3.—Herpetulus the Blue Knight and Probia, by L. Clinton's servants on Sunday after New Year's day.

1574. Jan. 6.—Quint ffabi (Quintus Fabius), by the children of Windsor for Mr. Farrant on Twelfth day.

1573. Dec. 27.—A Mask of 6 Lance Knights.
1574. Jan. 1.—A Mask of 6 Foresters or Hunters.
1574. Jan. 6.—A Mask of 6 Sages.
} After the plays. All at Whitehall.

The only important property mentioned is a basket to hang up Diligence in the play of Probia.

1574. Feb. 2.—Timoclia at the siege of Thebes by Alexander, was shown at Hampton Court by Mr. Munkester's children [the Merchant Taylors' boys]. A Mask of six Ladies, Virtues, was prepared but not shown, for the tediousness of the play that night.

1574. Feb. 22.—Philimon and Philecia, played by Leicester's men on Shrove Monday.

1574. Feb. 23.—Perseus and Anthomeris [Andromeda], by Munkester's children on Shrove Tuesday. After these two plays were Masks, one of 7 Warriors, with Shipmaster, who made a speech; the other of 7 Ladies, with a "tronchwoman" or speech-maker. All at Hampton Court.

1574. Jan. 10.—
S. Westcott was paid [for the play on Dec. 27].
R. Ferrant [for the play on Jan. 6].

1574. Jan. 7.—Leicester's men [for the plays on Dec. 26, 28].

1574. Jan. 10.— { L. Clinton's men [for the play on Jan. 3]. Elderton [for the play on Jan. 1].

1574. Feb. 22.—Leicester's men for a play presented on the 21st instant. This entry is important, as it seems to imply that "Shrove Monday at night" means Shrove Monday Eve, *i.e.*, the evening of Shrove Sunday, which in 1574 fell on 21st February.

1574. Mar. 18.—R. Mouncaster for the plays at Candlemas and Shrove Tuesday. Chalmers gave these payments from the Council Register. Collier, as usual, omitted them. See "Variorum, iii. 424, 447.

1574. July 15.—Italian players followed the progress and made pastime; first at Windsor, and afterwards at Reading. The date quoted applies to Reading. Among their characters occur Shepherds, Nymphs, Saturn, Devils, and a Wild man. This last suggests that the Mask of Nov. 1573 was performed by these Italian players, and if so, probably other Masks. This conjecture is confirmed by the previous mention of a tronchwoman or interpreter ("Revels," 72). These Italian players consisted of men and women; so that female actors were introduced very early at the English Court, though not on the public stage.

1574. Dec. 26.—A play by Leicester's men.

1574. Dec. 27.—A play by L. Clinton's men.

1574. Dec. [28].—The history of Phædrastus and Phigon and Lucia together, by my L. Chamberlain's men [L. Charles Howard's].

1575. Jan. 1.—A matter of Panecia by Leicester's men [with Chimney-sweepers in it].

1575. Jan. 2.—A matter called Pretestus by L. Clinton's men.

1575. Jan. 6.—Farrant's play by the children of Windsor [with Xerxes' sister in it].

1575. Feb. 2.—Sebastian [Westcott]'s play by the children of Paul's [with Vanity in it].

1575. Feb. 13.—A play by the children of the Chapel.

1575. Feb. 14.—Dutton's play by Warwick's men.

These dates (omitted by Collier) are made out from the payments entered in the Council Register, namely :—

1575. Jan. 9.—To Leicester's players for plays on St. Stephen's day and New Year's day at Night.

1575. Jan 11.—To L. Clinton's players for plays on St. John's day and Sunday, 2 Jan.

1575. Jan. 23.—To R. Farrant for a play on Twelfth Night [Westminster boys].

1575. Feb. 16.—To S. Westcote for a play on Candlemas day [Paul's boys].

To Warwick's men for a play on Shrove Monday.

To W. Hunys for a play on Shrove Sunday [Chapel boys].

There is no mention of any boy company of Leicester's. The "boys" mistaken for a company by Mr. Collier (i. 226) are merely the performers of female characters who were attached to every company of men, the servants or apprentices of the men players.

There were Masks also at this time of Pedlars, and probably of Hunters, Mariners, and Pilgrims: as these are not so likely to have been characters in the plays.

A list of properties is given by Blagrave, January 6, 1575, which had been supplied for the Court performers by John Carow. It deserves full quotation :—"Monsters; Mountains; Forests; Beasts; Serpents; Weapons for war, as Guns, Dags, Bows, Arrows, Bills, Halberds, Boarspears, Fawchions, Daggers, Targets, Pollaxes, Clubs; Heads and Head pieces; Armour counterfeit; Moss, Holly, Ivy, Bays, Flowers; Quarters; Glue, Paste, Paper, and such like; with Nails, Hooks, Horsetails, Dishes for Devils' eyes, Heaven, Hell, and the Devil and all: the Devil, I should say, but not all. £12, 14s. 4d."

1575. July.—A mask by G. Gascoigne was prepared (but not shown, as Mr. Collier wrongly asserts, i. 224) for the Queen at Kenilworth by the Earl of Leicester. Accounts of the other "Princely Pleasures" of this visit are extant, one by Gascoigne, the

other by Robert Laneham, probably a relative of Jack Laneham, the Earl of Leicester's player. The writers of the speeches for the shows were, G. Gascoigne, W. Hunnis, R. Muncaster, G. Ferrers, A. Goldingham, and Mr. Badger, M.A. and Esquire Bedell at Oxford. All of these were, in my opinion, authors of plays or interludes acted at Court.

1575. Dec. 26.—Warwick's men were paid, 1576, Jan. 2, for a play on St. Stephen's day.

1575. Dec. 27.—Children of Windsor were paid, Dec. 29, for a play on St. John's day.

1575. [Dec. 28].—Leicester's men were paid, Dec. 29, for a play at Candlemas. But the Paul's boys acted at the preceding Candlemas. Either the Register or Chalmers must be in error.

1576. Jan. 1.—Warwick's men were paid, Jan. 2, for a play on New Year's day.

1576. [Jan.].—L. Chamberlain [Howard]'s men, on Jan. 7, for a play at Candlemas. The same absurdity repeated.

1576. Jan. 6.—Seb. [Westcott] was paid, Jan. 7, for a play by the children of Paul's on Twelfth day.

1576. Mar. 5.—R. Mouncaster paid, Mar. 11, for a play on Shrove Sunday [Merchant Taylor's boys].

1576. Mar. 6.—Lau. and John Dutton, Mar. 11, for a play on Shrove Monday [Warwick's men].

This group of payments is ignored by Mr. Collier.

1576. Dec. 26.—The Painter's Daughter, by E. Warwick's servants, on St. Stephen's day.

1576. Dec. 27.—Toolie, by L. Howard's servants, on St. John's day.

1576. Dec. 30.—The History of the Collier, by E. Leicester's men, on the Sunday following.

1577. Jan. 1.—The History of Error, by the children of Paul's, on New Year's day.

1577. Jan. 6.—The History of Mutius Scevola, by the Children of Windsor and the Chapel, on Twelfth day.

1577. Feb. 2.—The History of the Cenofalls [Cynocephali],

by the L. Chamberlain [Sussex] his men on Candlemas day. These six plays were shown at Hampton Court.

1577. Feb. 17.—The History of the Solitary Knight, by L. Howard's servants, on Shrove Sunday.

1577. Feb. 18.—The Irish Knight, by Earl Warwick's servants, on Shrove Monday.

1577. Feb. 19.—The History of Titus and Gisippus, by the children of Paul's, on Shrove Tuesday. These three plays were shown at Whitehall. A play of Cutwell was prepared, but not shown. For it a "counterfeit well" was carried from the Bell in Gracious Street. This play then had been publicly acted at that inn-yard; by men players, of course.

A Mask with seven speeches by boys was prepared for Twelfth Night at Hampton Court, but not shown (Mr. Collier says it was shown, i. 228,—he is mistaken): it was presented at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday, but "without any speech." The payments in the Council Registers for this group of plays (from Chalmers, *ut supra*) are, as usual, neglected by Mr. Collier.

1577. Jan. 20.—For plays at Christmas: one by the Chapel children: one by those of Paul's: one by Earl Warwick's men: one by Earl Leicester's.

1577. Feb. 3.—One to the Earl of Sussex' players for a play on Candlemas day. Sussex is the Lord Chamberlain of the corresponding entry in the Revels account.

1577. Feb. 20.—One to the children of Paul's; one to the Earl of Warwick's men for Shrove Monday; and one to the Lord Chamberlain's (a mistake for the Lord Howard of the Revels entry) for Shrove Sunday. The appointment of Sussex as Chamberlain was before Dec. 1576. Nichols gives the date of Howard's appointment, namely, in 1574 (iii. 401).

1577.—There was no progress this year on account of the great sickness at Oxford in August.

1578. Jan. 9.—Payments were made to Leicester's players and Howard's for a play each.

1578. Mar. 12.—R. Ferrant was paid for a play on Shrove Monday (Feb. 10) by the children of Windsor.

1578. Mar. 14.—[C. Howard] L. Chamberlain's men were paid for a play on Candlemas day. Chalmers gives these entries; Collier does not.

1578. Aug. 21.—(Thursday.) An excellent princely mask of gods and goddesses by Arthur Goldingham was brought before the Queen at Norwich (see for an account of it, Nichols, ii. 159).

1578. Dec. 26.—At Richmond. An invention or play of The three Sisters of Mantua on St. Stephen's day was enacted by Warwick's servants.

1578. Dec. 27.—The history of . . . on St. John's day by the children of the Chapel.

1578. Dec. 28.—The history of the cruelty of a Stepmother on Innocent's day by the L. Chamberlain's servants [Sussex'].

1579. Jan. 4.—A moral of the Marriage of Mind and Measure on the Sunday after New Year's day by the children of Paul's.

1579. Jan. 4.—A pastoral or a history of a Greek Maid on the Sunday after the New Year by the Earl of Leicester's servants. There were then two plays on this day.

1579. Jan. 6.—The history of the Rape of the second Helen on Twelfth day [also by Leicester's men. Compare the payments in the Council Register].

1579. Jan. 11.—On the Sunday after Twelfth day (not on Twelfth day, as Collier has it, i. 233), a mask of Amazons and a mask of Knights were shown before her Majesty (the French Ambassador being present). "The Amazons and the Knights, after the Knights had danced awhile with ladies before her Majesty, did then in her Majesty's absence fight at Barriers." It is noteworthy that speeches to be used in this mask were written in English and translated by the Lord Chamberlain's command into Italian; which confirms my conjecture that these Court Masks were usually presented by the Italian company, aided by boys or men of the English players.

1579. Feb. 2.—The history of . . . by the Earl of Warwick's servants; still at Whitehall. "But the Queen's Majesty would

not come to hear the same, and therefore put off." On Candlemas day.

1579. Mar. 1.—The history of the Knight in the Burning Rock, on Shrove Sunday, by the Earl of Warwick's servants.

1579. Mar. 2.—The history of Loyalty and Beauty on Shrove Monday by the children of the Chapel (with Bacchus in it).

1579. Mar. 3.—The history of Murderous Michael on Shrove Tuesday by the Lord Chamberlain's servants [Sussex'].

Mr. Collier (i. 233), out of property entries for masks and a "murryon's head" (for the Amazon mask), has concocted "a mask of Moors which was to have been presented on Shrove Tuesday," but forgot in this instance to provide a preliminary forged document in justification.

1579. Dec. 26.—A History of the Duke of Milan and the Marques of Mantua on St. Stephen's day by the L. Chamberlain's Servants; at Whitehall.

1579. Dec. 27.—A History of Alucius . . . on St. John's day by the children of Her Majesty's Chapel.

1579. Dec. 28.—A History of . . . to have been shown on Innocent's day by the Earl of Leicester's servants: "but her Majesty could not come to hear it."

1579. Jan. 16.—Payments were made to the children of Paul's and the Chapel, and to the men players of the Chamberlain, Leicester (two plays) and Warwick.

1579. Mar. 13.— { To the L. Chamberlain's players for a play on Shrove Tuesday. / To the Earl of Warwick's players for a play on Shrove Sunday.

1579. Mar. 18.—To the Earl of Warwick's players for a play "that should have been played on Candlemas day." The delay in payment seems to indicate a dispute, decided in favour of the players, as to whether plays prepared, but not shown, should be paid for in full. This batch of Register entries is, like the others given by Chalmers, omitted by Collier.

1580. Jan. 1. A History of the Four Sons of Fabius on New Year's day by the Earl of Warwick's servants.

1580. Jan. 3.—The History of Scipio Africanus on Sunday after New Year's day by the Children of Paul's.

1580. Jan. 6.—The History of . . . on Twelfth day by the Earl of Leicester's servants.

1580. Feb. 2.—Still at Whitehall. The History of Portio and Demorantes on Candlemas day by the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

1580. Feb. 14.—The History of the Soldan and the Duke of . . . on Shrove Sunday by the Earl of Derby's servants.

1580. Feb. 15.—No play. Yet 10 plays had been selected: one for this day, I suppose.

1580. Feb. 16.—The History of Serpedon on Shrove Tuesday by the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

The Register payments (from Chalmers, omitted by Collier) are as follows:—

1580. Jan. 29.—For plays by Paul's and Chapel boys, Chamberlain's, Leicester's, and Warwick's players, and L. Strange's tumblers. These tumblers were evidently not players, as they are not mentioned in the Revels accounts.

1580. Feb. 23.—To the Lord Chamberlain's players, for plays on Candlemas day and Shrove Tuesday; and to the Earl of Derby's for a play on Sunday the 14th.

1580.—"Devises to receive the French" were also prepared during this year.

1580. Dec. 26.—At Whitehall. A comedy called Delight, on St. Stephen's day. Leicester's men [The play of (*i.e.*, about) plays mentioned by Gosson].

1580. Dec. 27.—A story of . . . on St. John's day. Sussex' men.

1581. Jan. 1.—A story of . . . on New Year's day. Derby's men.

1581. Jan 6.—A story of Pompey on Twelfth day. Children of Paul's. [The Cesar and Pompey mentioned by Gosson.]

1581. Jan. 22.—A challenge at the Tilt (proclaimed on Twelfth Night) was performed by the Earl of Arundel. "Diverse devises happened in that mean season."

1581. Feb. 2.—A story of . . . on Candlemas day. Sussex' men.

1581. Feb. 5.—A story of . . . on Shrove Sunday. Chapel children.

1581. Feb. 7.—A story of . . . on Shrove Tuesday. Leicester's men.

The Register payments (Chalmers, omitted by Collier) were made on January 20 for Sussex', Leicester's, and Derby's Christmas plays; on January 30 for the Paul's children; and on February 13 for Leicester's and the Lord Chamberlain's Shrovetide plays. All the dates exactly correspond, but the mention of Sussex on February 2 as the Earl of Sussex, and on February 13 as Lord Chamberlain, shows that Lord Charles Howard was not Chamberlain, as is commonly assumed.

1581. Apr. 16.—(Stow, p. 689.) Masks for receiving the French Commissioners were provided, one of which was not shown. Justings, Barriers, and Tourneys were performed with Trophies and Devices.

1581. July 2.—Edward Bowes, master of her Majesty's game of Paris Garden, was paid for representations at Whitehall on Apr. 23 and May 1 last.

1581. Dec. 26.—A play by the Paul's children. Paid for 1582, Apr. 24.

1581. Dec. 31.
1582. Feb. 27 (Shrove Tuesday). } Plays by Chapel children: paid for 1582, Apr. 1.

1582. Jan. 21.—Bowes was paid for the game of Paris Garden presented at Westminster on 4, 5, 7, 31 Dec.: and Lord Strange's servants for "feats of activity" on Dec. 28 (Childermas).

This group of entries is taken from Chalmers. Collier omits them.

1582. Dec. 26.—At Windsor. A Comedy or Moral devised on a game of the Cards on St. Stephen's night by the Children of the Chapel.

1582. Dec. 27.—A comedy of Beauty and Housewifery on St. John's day by the Lord Hunsdon's Servants.

1582. Dec. 30.—A History of Love and Fortune on Sunday before New Year's day by Earl Derby's servants.

1583. Jan. 1.—Feats of tumbling and activity on New Year's day by Lord Strange's servants.

1583. Jan. 5.—A mask of Ladies on Twelfth Eve.

1583. Jan. 6.—A History of Ferrar['s] on Twelfth day by the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

1583. Feb. 10.—At Richmond. A History of Telomo on Shrove Sunday by Leicester's servants.

1583. Feb. 12.—A History of Ariodante and Genevora on Shrove Tuesday by Mr. Mulcaster's children [Merchant Taylors]. A Mask of 6 Seamen was prepared: "but not used."

1584. Dec. 26.—At Greenwich. A Pastoral of Phillida and Coryn by the Queen's servants on St. Stephen's day.

1584. Dec. 27.—The History of Agamemnon and Ulysses by "the Earl of Oxenford his boys" on St. John's day.

1585. Jan. 1.—Feats of activity by Simons and his fellows [probably L. Strange's men] on New Year's day.

1585. Jan. 3.—The history of Felix and Philiomena [Filismena] by the Queen's servants on the Sunday after New Year.

1585. Jan. 6.—An Invention called[1] Five plays in One [The first part of Tarleton's Seven Deadly Sins] by the Queen's servants on Twelfth day.

1585. Feb. 21.—An Invention of Three plays in One [The second part of the Seven Deadly Sins] by the Queen's servants on Shrove Sunday. Prepared to have been shewed at Somerset place, "but the Queen came not abroad that night."

1585. Feb. 23.—An Antic play and a Comedy on Shrove Tuesday by her Majesty's servants at Somerset Place.

1586. Jan. 6.—On Jan. 31 payment was made for a play by the servants of the Lord Admiral [Charles Howard, made Admiral 1585, July 4 (Stow, 709)] and the Lord Chamberlain

[1] The greatest of all plays of this kind is Pippa Passes, by Browning; and while correcting this proof, 14th December 1889, I hear of his death. When I saw him last, a few months since, he expressed his desire to know where I could have found materials for the present work, as it seemed to him incredible that it could be accomplished. He was a man of men, and I shall never see his like in this world.

[Henry Lord Hunsdon, appointed 1585, July 4 (Stow, 709)] presented on Twelfth day. This item is from Mr. Halliwell [Phillipp]'s "Illustrations," p. 31, and on the same page he observed: "Henry Lord Hunsdon held the post of Lord Chamberlain from the year 1583 until his decease." I applied to him for his authority for this statement. He refused me any information, and the subsequent use he made of my own mistake in saying that Howard was Chamberlain and Admiral at the same time, instead of in the same month (July), will be found by the curious in the *Athenæum* for 1886, April 24, in Mr. Phillipps' letter, my reply to which the Editor refused to insert. It had cost me a day's labour to ascertain the true date, which, as his own letter proves, was quite unknown to my opponent. Howard was made Chamberlain for the second time after the Earl of Sussex' death in 1583.

I now give a tabular *résumé* (for easy reference) of all these Court performances, and shall do so without further notice in all succeeding sections.

I take advantage of a blank half-page, here necessitated by the printing of these tables on single pages for the reader's convenience, to point out once for all the advantage of the separate treatment given in this book to the subjects of the various sections. In these tables will be found within brackets a full dozen of plays, whose dates (justified farther on) have never till now been determined with precision, and could not be determined without the exact tabular treatment here given. It is easy to sneer at dry-as-dust industry, and easy to write fanciful imaginations, and call them true lives of Shakespeare and his fellows; but whatever new light remains to be attained will not be got in that way, but by such diligent researches as Mr. Greenstreet's, to add to our materials, and by careful inductive use of those already in our hands in the vast mass of literature contemporary with those playwrights.

A.—*COURT PERFORMANCES BY BOYS* (1559–1583).

PAUL'S CHOIR.		CHAPEL CHOIR.	
1559. Aug. 7 [Nice Wanton]. 1561. Mar. 6 [Ralph Royster]. 1561–2. Xmas. 1562–3. Xmas [Like will to like].		1559. Dec. 31 [Misogonus].	
PAUL'S CHOIR.	WESTMINSTER SCHOOL.	WINDSOR CHOIR.	CHAPEL CHOIR.
1563–4. Xmas.	1563–4. Xmas [Appius & Virginia].		1563–4. Xmas [Damon & Pythias].
1564–5. Xmas. 1565. Feb. 2.			
	1566–7. Xmas		
1567–8. Seven plays were acted this year—As plain as can be; Painful Pilgrimage; Jack and Gill; 6 Fools; Wit and Will; Prodigality; Orestes.			
1569. Jan. 1.		1568. Dec. 27. 1569. Feb. 22.	
			1570. Jan. 6 [Cambyses].
1571. Dec. 28, Iphigenia.	1572. Feb. 19, Paris and Vienna.	1572. Jan. 1, Ajax and Ulysses.	1572. Jan. 6, Narcissus.
1572–3.	1572–3.	1572–3.	[See Table B.].
1573. Dec. 27, Alkmeon.	1574. Jan. 1, Truth, F., & Mercy.	1574. Jan. 6, Quintus Fabius.	
	MERCHANT TAYLORS'.		
	1572–3.		
	1574. Feb. 2, Timoclea.		
	1574. Feb. 23, Perseus and Andromeda.		
1575. Feb. 2.		1575. Jan. 6.	1575. Feb. 13.
1576. Jan. 6.	1576. Mar. 5.	1575. Dec. 27.	
1577. Jan. 1, Error.		1577. Jan. 6, Mutius Scevola.	1577. Jan. 6, Mutius Scevola.
1577. Feb. 17 Titus & Gisyppus.			
		1578. Feb. 10.	
			1578. Dec. 27 [Cambyses].
1579. Jan. 4, Mind and Measure.			1579. Mar. 2, Loyalty and Beauty.
1580. Jan. 3, Scipio Africanus.			1579. Dec. 27, Alucius.
1581. Jan. 6, Pompey.			1581. Feb. 5 [Arraignment of Paris].
1581. Dec. 26.			1581. Dec. 31 [Campaspe].
	1582. Jan. 12, Ariodante and Genevora.		1582. Feb. 27 [Sappho].
			1582. Dec. 26, Game of Cards.

B.—*COURT PERFORMANCES BY MEN* (1559–1583).

Lord Robert Dudley's (*Earl of Leicester*, 1564).

1560–1. Xmas. [Disobedient Child.]	1562–3. Xmas. [King Darius.]
1564–5. Xmas. [Gammer Gurton.]	1567–8. Xmas. [See Children's Table.]

Lord Robert Rich's.

1568. Dec. 27.	1570. Feb. 7.

Sir Robert Lane's.

1571. Dec. 27. Lady Barbara.	1572. Feb. 17. Cloridon and Radiamanta.

R. Dudley (*Leicester's*).	Ambrose Dudley (*Earl of Warwick's*).	E. Fynes (*L. Clinton's*).	Lord Charles Howard's.
1572–3. Two plays.	1572–3. A play.	[Theagines and Chariclea; Fortune; acted 1572–3.]	
1573. Dec. 26, Predor and Lucia.			
1573. Dec. 28, Mamillia.		1574. Jan. 3, Herpetulus and Perobia.	
1574. Feb. 22, Philemon and Philecia.			1574. Dec. 28, Phedrastus and Phigon: Lucia.
1574. Dec. 26.		1574. Dec. 27.	
1575. Jan. 1, Panecia.	1575. Feb. 14.	1575. Jan. 2, Pretestus.	
1575. [Dec. 28.]	1575. Dec. 26.		1576. Jan.
	1576. Jan. 1.		
	1576. Feb. 18.		
1576. Dec. 30, The Collier.	1576. Dec. 26, Painter's Daughter.	Thomas Ratcliff (*Earl of Sussex'*).	1576. Dec. 27, Toolie.
	1577. Feb. 18, Irish Knight.	1577. Feb. 2, Cynocephals.	1577. Feb. 17, Solitary Knight.
1577–8. Xmas.			1577–8. Xmas.
			1578. Feb. 2.
1579. Jan. 4, Greek Maid.	1578. Dec. 26, 3 sisters of Mantua.	1578. Dec. 28, Cr. of Stepmother.	
1579. Jan. 6, Rape of 2d Helen.	1579. Feb. 2.	1579. Mar. 3, Murderous Michael.	
	1579. Mar. 1, K. in Burning Rock.		
1579. Dec. 28.	1580. Jan. 1, 4 Sons of Fabius.	1580. Feb. 2, Portio and Demorantes.	Henry Stanley (*Lord Derby's*).
1580. Jan. 6.		1580. Feb. 16, Sarpedon.	1580. Feb. 14, Soldan and Duke.
1580. Dec. 26, Delight.	Henry Carey (*Lord Hunsdon's*).	1580. Dec. 27.	1581. Jan. 1.
		1581. Feb. 2.	
1583. Feb. 10, Telomo.	1582. Dec. 27, Beauty and Huswifery.	1583. Jan. 6, Ferrar.	1582. Dec. 30, Love and Fortune.

SECTION C.

THE COMPANIES (1559–1586.)

THE masters of the boys' companies were—

Paul's.	Sebastian Westcott . .	Choirs.
Chapel.	Richard Bower, 1559 . .	
	Richard Edwards, 1561 .	
	William Hunnis, 1567–83 .	
Windsor.	Richard Ferrant, to 1578 .	
Merchant Taylors.	Richard Muncaster or Mulcaster, from 1572 to 1583	Schools.
Westminster.	John Taylor, until 1572 . . .	
	William Elderton, from 1572 to 1573	

The men's companies fall naturally into four series:—

1. Lord Robert Dudley's, 1560–1583, who became Earl of Leicester in 1564. In the privy seal of 1574, May 7, granted to them at Greenwich, their names are given:—

1. James Burbadge.
2. John Perkyn.
3. John Lanham.
4. William Johnson.
5. Robert Wylson.

This document is printed in Collier (i. 203).

When the Queen's company was formed in 1583 (*circa* March), it consisted of—

1. James Burbadge .		from Leicester's men.
2. John Lanham .		
3. Robert Wilson .		
4. Richard Tarlton.	See Stow, p. 698.	
5. Laurence Dutton .		from the Earl of Warwick's men.
6. John Dutton .		
7. —— Bentley .		see Halliwell's "Illustrations," p. 119.
8. [John] Singer .		
9. William Slaughter.	See the old play on Richard 3.	

And probably of—

10. John Perkyn .	from Leicester's.
11. William Johnson .	
12. Some actor whose name has not reached us.	

Stow gives Wilson's Christian name as Thomas erroneously. Malone quotes him accurately, and on this Collier imputes Stow's mistake to Malone (Collier, i. 247).

2. Sir Robert Rich's players, 1568–1570, were succeeded by Sir Robert Lane's, 1571–1573, of whom the chief were Laurence and John Dutton. They most likely broke in 1574, and the Duttons formed a company for the Earl of Warwick, which acted 1575–1580 January 1. It was succeeded by the company of Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, 1582–1586.

3. The players of Edward Fynes, Lord Clinton, are only heard of from 1574 to 1575. They were succeeded by those of Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex, 1577 February 2, to 1581 February 2, It is very necessary to note that Sussex succeeded Howard as Lord Chamberlain in 1576. There is some consequent confusion in the attribution of this title, as I have pointed out on each occasion of its occurrence. At the death of Sussex in 1583 his players probably entered the service of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

4. Lord Charles Howard's men acted from 1574 December 28, till 1578. In Chalmers' "Apology," p. 373, a letter of 1578, December 24, from the Council to the Lord Mayor is quoted, requiring him "to suffer the children of Her Majesty's Chapel, the servants of the Lord Chamberlain [Sussex], of the Earl of Warwick, of the Earl of Leicester, of the Earl of Essex, and the children of Paul's, and no company else, to exercise plays within the city, by reason that they are appointed to play this Christmas before Her Majesty:" but Earl Essex' men did not play that Christmas at Court. Howard's were succeeded by the Earl of Derby's men, 1580–1582, and these by the Earl of Arundel's (Philip Howard's), who were playing in 1584.

SECTION D.

THEATRES (1559–1585).

UNTIL 1576 public performances were represented in inn-yards Of these there were five, as we learn from an important passage in Richard Rawlidge's A Monster lately found out, or The Scourg-

ing of Tipplers, 1628, quoted by Prynne, "Histriomastix," 1633, p. 492, on the accuracy of which Mr. Collier most unjustly throws a suspicion (iii. 103). He states that the magistrates soon after 1580 [*i.e.*, in 1582–3] "obtained leave from her Majesty to thrust the players out of the city, and to pull down all playhouses and dicing houses within their liberties; which accordingly was effected." He enumerates five play-houses, but omits a sixth, Blackfriars:—

> one in Gracious Street [The Bell].
> one in Bishopsgate Street [The Bull].
> one nigh Paul's [distinguished from that in Blackfriars by Gosson, "Plays Confuted," 1582].
> one on Ludgate Hill [The Bell Savage]; and
> one in Whitefriars.

The Bell was almost certainly used by the Earl of Warwick's men, and the Blackfriars inn-yard by the children of Paul's. Lyly's Campaspe was performed at Court on New Year's Eve, 1581–2, and his Sappho on Shrove Tuesday, 1582. Both these plays were acted in public by the Paul's boys, as we know from the title-pages of 1584; and both have prologues "at the Blackfriars." Mydas, of later date, has its prologue "in Paul's." Gosson ("Plays Confuted," 1582) also mentions Cupid and Psyche as played "at Paul's." The Bell, in Gracious (Grass or Grass Church) Street, is mentioned in the "Revels Accounts," p. 120; a "well counterfeit from the Bell in Gracious Street" being used in the play of Cutwell. Now, the three plays performed at Shrovetide, 1577, were The Solitary Knight, Titus and Gisippus, and the Irish Knight. The plays mentioned in the property accounts for this Shrovetide are The Solitary Knight, Titus and Gisippus, and the play of Cutwell. Cutwell and the Irish Knight are evidently one play, performed by the Earl of Warwick's servants. They therefore acted publicly at the Bell in February 1577.

Gosson, in his "School of Abuse," 1579, mentions The Jew and Ptolemy [Telomo, perhaps, acted at Court by Leicester's men, 10th February 1583] as two plays shown at the Bull, and two prose plays at the Bell Savage (the earliest prose plays I know of).

These details, however, do not enable us to appropriate all the play-houses to their respective companies.

One other inn-yard play-place is known anterior to 1584, the Boar's Head without Aldgate, where "a lewd play" called the Sackfull of News was performed late in Queen Mary's reign, 5th September 1557. But this play-place is not heard of in Elizabeth's time.

In 1576 or 1577 the first London theatre, properly so-called, was built; it was hence called the Theater, by which spelling in the present work this house and no other will be indicated. James Burbadge, Leicester's player, built it, and it is surely a fair inference that Leicester's men were its first occupiers: we know that the Queen's men, who succeeded them, acted there. The lease from Giles Allen to James Burbage of the ground on which it was erected is dated 1576, April 13. It was situate in Halliwell, or Holy Well, in the parish of St. Leonard's, close to Finsbury Fields. On 17th September 1579 Burbage assigned his Shoreditch estate to John Hyde (Halliwell, "Life of Shakespeare"). Plays acted there in the present period were The Blacksmith's Daughter, Catiline's Conspiracies, by Gosson ("School of Abuse," 1579); The Play of Plays, 1582, February 23, in which Delight was a prominent character (Collier, ii. 197), and which, therefore, was probably the play of Delight acted at Court by Leicester's men players, 1580, December 26 ("Plays Confuted," 1582); a "play by one Virgin," 1582, February 22; Cesar and Pompey [1582], which had been acted by the Paul's boys at Court, 1581, January 6, and which must have been performed at the Theater after the Blackfriars inn-yard had been suppressed; and the Fabii, acted by Warwick's men at Court, 1580, January 1. This also was probably acted at the Theater in 1582 or 1581, before Warwick's men passed under the patronage of Hunsdon; at any rate, it shows that Warwick's men did not go to the Curtain on leaving the Bell. A play with a song of the Maid of Kent, by an unknown company (Gosson, "Plays Confuted"), was also acted at the Theater.

Besides these, Tarlton's Seven Deadly Sins must have been

performed here. There is no mention of the Theater in the 1576 additions of Lambarde's "Perambulation of Kent in Conjunction with the Belle Savage and Paris Garden:" this book does not appear in the "Stationers' Registers," and its license must be anterior to 1576, July 17, during the time of the missing registers. Mr. Collier withdrew his erroneous statement as to this supposed allusion, but repeated it in his final edition (iii. 150).

In 1577, December 2, an entry was made in the "Stationers' Registers" of a book wherein Dancing, Dicing, Vain Playing, and Enterludes, with other idle pastimes commonly used on the Sabbath-day, are reproved. In this book by John Northbrooke the Curtain is mentioned along with the Theater. The date of their erection lies, then, between 1576, April 13, and 1577, December 2; most likely in 1576. Remembering that the Queen's company was formed from those of Sussex, Derby, and Leicester in 1583, and that Tarlton was not one of Leicester's men, he must have belonged either to Sussex' or Derby's company. He as such had acted at the Curtain; for the Queen's men did not act there. The Curtain and the Theater closely adjoined, being both in the same fields. Mr. Pope, in 1586 a member of Leicester's company, bequeathed his interest in the Curtain to Mary Clark, *alias* Wood; so that he was probably one of the original shareholders therein. He was afterwards a member of L. Strange's company. The Earl of Arundel's company certainly acted at the Curtain in 1584. Moreover, on 1586 January 6, the Chamberlain's (Hunsdon's) and the Admiral's (Charles Howard's) acted together at Court, and received payment therefor on January 31 (Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 31). They were probably acting together in public at the Curtain, and Oxford's players at the Theater or the Cross Keys Inn-Yard, the first mention of which playhouse occurs in 1589, after those mentioned by Rawlidge had been closed.

If we pass beyond these ascertained facts we get on to purely speculative ground. Nevertheless, I think the following con-

jectural arrangement of the play-places of the different companies worth adoption as a working hypothesis until further evidence may be adduced.

There are two "prose" plays mentioned by Gosson as performed at the Bell Savage before 1579. The only prose plays[1] known at this early date are Lyly's. Of his plays, two, Campaspe and Sappho, were acted by the Chapel children at Court, and after their inhibition by the Paul's boys at Blackfriars. Another, Galatea, was acted at Court by the Paul's boys in 1588, but evidently not in its original form, for it was re-entered in the "Stationer's Registers" in 1591, although having been already licensed (though probably not printed) in 1585, April 1. This implies an alteration in the play so as to constitute it a new work As we have it, it was certainly written in 1587. Lyly's other play, performed in 1588 at Court, was Endymion, in which Leicester's marriage with the Countess of Essex in 1576 is manifestly allegorised (Halpin). This also would suit an earlier date much better, as the allusions would be antiquated a dozen years after the marriage, and certainly the Court version would be less outspoken than the public one on such a subject. Until then some other writer of "prose" plays at that date shall be discovered "where you shall find never a word without wit, never a line without pith, never a letter placed in vain" (Gosson), I shall hold that earlier versions than those published of these two plays are those alluded to in the "School of Abuse," and therefore that the Chapel children, for whom Lyly wrote until 1582, acted at the Bell Savage, and the Paul's boys at the Blackfriars. As to the Whitefriars theatre mentioned by Rawlidge, it is noteworthy that there is no other mention of a Whitefriars play-place till 1610.

The Bell was, we know, occupied by the Earl of Warwick's men, as shown above. As to the Bull, The Jew, "representing the

1 Or rather "the only publicly acted prose plays," for Gascoigne had produced two, The Supposes and The Glass of Government; but The Supposes was acted at Gray's Inn, and The Glass of Government not at the Bell Savage, as he expressly tells us in the Prologue, where he alludes to "Bell Savage fair" as affording "merry jests" and "vain delights" unlike his serious play.

greediness of worldly chusers [qy. chousers] and bloody minds of usurers" ("School of Abuse"), was acted before 1579. Surely this was the play of The Three Ladies of London, in which Gerontus, a Jew of Venice, is the chief human character; the others are mostly allegorical personifications. It is devoted to the subject of the greed of the followers of Lady Lucre, and in it Usury murders Hospitality. But this play was written by R. W[ilson], and if its identity with The Jew be admitted, must have been acted by Leicester's men.

I think Sussex' men (as he was Chamberlain) more likely than Derby's to have been privileged to occupy the Curtain. If so, we have only the inn "near Pauls" left for Clinton's men, and the following scheme results:—

Conjectural Occupation of Play-places (1559–1583).

Blackfriars.	Bell Savage.	Bull.	Bell.	White-friars.	Near Paul's.
1559–1581, Paul's boys.	1559–1582, Chapel ch.	1560–1576, Leicester's.	1568–1570, R. Rich's.	1574–1578, C. Howard's.	1574–1576, Clinton's.
[These boy companies were inhibited; the Chapel from 1582 to 1591, Paul's from 1583 to 1587.]		Theater.	1571–1573, R. Lane's.	1578, Essex'.	Curtain.
		1576–1583, Leicester's.	1575–1580, Warwick's.	1582–1583, Derby's.	1576–1583, Sussex'.
		1582, Paul's boys.	1582–1583, Hunsdon's.		
		Theater.		Curtain.	
		1584, Queen's and Hunsdons.		1584, Arundel's and Oxford's.	
		1585, Queen's and Oxford's.		1585, C. Howard's and Hunsdon's.	

I am aware of the difficulty in the way of the preceding identification of The Jew and The Three Ladies, that the date of the latter play is expressly given in the play itself as the 27th year of Elizabeth; but a reference to the second edition, where this is altered into the 34th, proves that in this instance (contrary to the usual practice) the date refers to the publication, not the presentation, of the play. The exact words are: "Not much more than 26 years—it was in Queen Mary's time."

SECTION E.

AUTHORS (1559–1586).

I DO not propose in this book to enter into questions of authorship of plays, or the personal careers of their writers. But the investigation as to what authors were connected with each company at any given time is so important a part of theatrical history, that I shall append to each division of the present treatise a list (incomplete and approximate though it must seem, until I have the opportunity of entering into details) of the writers for each group of players (including names of plays of anonymous authorship). For the more important names I do not anticipate that much future correction will be required. As a necessary preliminary I here give a table of the affiliation of the companies, my grounds for which will be found in the sections headed "Companies" in the subsequent chapters. All conjectural matter is, as usual with me, enclosed in brackets.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.	
Leicester's, 1586–1588.	Inhibited, 1583–1591.	Paul's, 1586–1590.	Oxford's, 1584–	Admiral's, 1536–1592	1. Queen's [Eliz.] II., 1583–1592.
Strange's, 1589–1594.	Chapel, 1592–1594	Inhibited, 1591–1599.	Pembroke's, 1589–97: 1600.	and 1594–1603.	Sussex' III., 1592–1593.
Chamberlain's, 1594–1603.	and 1596–1603.	Paul's, 1600–1607.	Worcester's, 1602–1603.	...	Derby's IV., 1599.
1. King [James's], 1603–1625.	1. Queen's Revels, 1603–1609.	1. [King's] Revels, 1607–1609.	2. Queen's [Anne], 1603–1613	1. Prince [Henry's], 1603–1612.	...
...	2. Queen's Revels, 1610–1613.	Duke of York's, 1610–1612.	...	...	1. Lady Eliz., 1611–1613.
...	2. Lady Eliz., 1613–1614.	2. Prince's [Charles], 1613–1614.	and 1613–1618.	Palsgrave's, 1613–1625.	...
...	United 1515–1616.	Separated 1617–1625.	The Revels [men], 1619–1623.	...	...
2. King's [Charles], 1625–1642.	3. Queen's [Henrietta], 1625–1642.	"Outsiders," 1625–1642.	2. King's Revels, 1629–1636.	FortuneComp., 1625–1631.	...
...	..	...	King's and Queen's, 1637–1642.	3. Prince's [Charles], 1632–1642.	...

Evidently the Queen's company dates within the time of 1 inhibition of the Chapel children; Sussex' within that of the Paul's boys, and Derby's while Pembroke's were travelling in 1599. Five groups will, therefore, be sufficient. The first period being in many respects an exceptional one, I have relegated the matters concerning authorship to an Intercalatory Section.

SECTION F.

GENERAL STAGE HISTORY IN LONDON (1559–1586).

In 1559, on April 7, proclamation was made under the Queen's hand in writing inhibiting plays and interludes until All-Hallows-tide, November 1. On May 16, when the time of the usual playing of interludes before All-Hallows-tide had expired, another proclamation (printed in Collier, i. 166) provided that in future no interlude should be played without due notice and a license, in cities from the Mayor or chief officer, in shires from the Lords Lieutenant or two Justices of the Peace of the respective counties. Also matters of religion or State policy were not to be touched on. In June, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury asking his license for his players to play in Yorkshire, as they had been allowed in divers other shires. All this applies to travelling companies of players only, and merely incidentally concerns us. The play-places and their companies in London continued as in the preceding reign, being under the control of the Mayor and Corporation of London, not of the Queen and Privy Council.

In 1559, on August 7, the first recorded Court performance took place. On this and all subsequent Court presentations see Section B. Many early performances were revivals of interludes written in Edward the Sixth's time. On 31st December 1559 a play at Court gave offence, and there can be no doubt that Sir Thomas Cawarden, the then Master of the Revels, was in con-

sequence dismissed from his office; he had not exercised due supervision in allowing the offensive play. He died at Nonesuch, 20th August 1560. I shall give in a succeeding section reasons for identifying this play with Misogonus, the first English comedy properly so called (see *infra*, under Ralph Roister).

On 12th January 1560 Sir Thomas Benger was appointed "Magister Jocorum Revellorum et Mascorum," Deviser of Banquets, Master of Revels, and Sergeant of Tents, with the old fee of £10 a year.

On Twelfth Night, 1560, the first recorded City performance under Elizabeth took place before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen at Guildhall after their attending service at St. Paul's. After the play was a fine Mask (Nichols, i. 82). Mr. Collier (i. 169) wrongly dates this 1559, and takes it to be a Court performance superintended by Sir T. Cawarden.

On 8th March 1560 a Privy Seal was issued giving bearer power to take singing boys and men for "our castle of Windsor" from any chapel, "our own household and St. Paul's only excepted" (Nichols, i. 81).

On 10th June 1560 the first publication of interludes performed in this reign is entered in the "Stationers' Registers." For this and all subsequent entries see under the appendix to this chapter.

In 1561 the Queen's Majesty's players played at Feversham (Nichols, i. 352, s. a. 1573, not s. a. 1561, as Mr. Collier says, i. 173), and in 1562 the Earl of Oxford's. There was no specific company called the Queen's players till 1583; it was a generic title applied to any company who prepared plays for the Queen's amusement. In 1561 the players probably were the Earl of Leicester's servants. Her progress this year was into Essex, Suffolk, and Herts; but Feversham was in Kent, so that it was not a company travelling in her train. Collier (i. 173) is quite mistaken in associating this Chamberlain's entry with her progress.

The interlude players, Browne, Sohodewycke, Smyth, and Read-

ing, who received £5 each (including livery) in September 1561, were old players whose pensions were continued from the preceding reigns, and have no concern with the Elizabethan stage, being superannuated. Smyth, the last of them, was in the Royal service in 1547, and received pension till 1581.

On 18th January 1562 Gorboduc, the first English tragedy, was produced. It was written in blank verse. All preceding interludes were in irregular doggerel. I have already referred to this matter.

In 1563 the Plague raged in London; 21,530 died of it (Camden). Archbishop Grindal thereupon began the long struggle between the clergy and the City on the one side, and the players and the Court on the other. The players were idle, infamous, profane; the resort to them especially on holidays spread the infection. Could not Cecil inhibit all plays for a year, if not for ever, in, or within three miles of, the City? Cecil did not; like the rest of the people, he liked plays better than church on holidays, but Grindal had supplied the anti-stage with its stock argument.

In 1572 a statute was enacted providing that common players in interludes, &c., not belonging to a baron or higher personage, or not having license from two Justices of the Peace, should be dealt with as rogues and vagabonds. This statute, which is merely a further definition of the punishment to be inflicted on those who violated the proclamation of 1559, was probably occasioned by disorderly scenes in the provinces, a specimen of which is given in Collier, i. 197. With travelling companies, however, except so far as they bear on the history of the London central stage, I have no concern in this present work. The material extant would amply suffice for another of the same extent. The only point in the narrative of value to me is that Wil. Pateson was one of Herbert's players, and Tho. Powlton one of Worcester's, which last name shows that Collier's list of this company is wrongly dated. I shall give it under its true date, 1586.

From 31st October 1573 Thomas Blagrave began to serve as Master of the Revels, "according to her Majesty's pleasure, signi-

fied by the right honorable L. Chamberlain" ("Revels," p. 48). This Chamberlain was the Earl of Sussex. Lord William Howard, his antecessor, died 14th January 1573. The new Chamberlain and Benger, who still remained nominal Master of the Revels till his death in March 1577, probably could not accord.

On 10th May 1574 the first Royal Patent to players was issued to Leicester's men. The Privy Seal directing this Patent to be issued is given in Collier, i. 203. The only important point in its terms is that the Privy Seal authorises performances "within the city of London," although such a license infringed on the powers of the City authorities. This clause was omitted in the Patent as copied by Rymer. Mr. Collier, as usual, does not look for the cause of this, but accuses Rymer of inaccuracy. The tell-tale word "said" in the "said city of London" in the Patent shows that an alteration had been made from the Privy seal ("Variorum," iii. 47). This company consisted of five players, with, of course, a couple of boys, and some supers or hired men.

At this point Mr. Collier inserts a document—Cotton MSS. Roll xvi. No. 41—addressed to "the Earl of Sussex, Lord Chamberlain," dated 2nd March 1573–4. The Earl had requested that one Mr. Holmes might appoint places for plays and interludes within the City. The Mayor and Aldermen reply that it would hurt their liberties so to do, and that it was unfitting for any private person to hold such office. They had had preferable offers of similar nature, "for the relief of the poor in the hospitals;" they would accept these, if any. Then the long-impending storm broke out. The players, Leicester's men, were patented in May, and on 22nd July an attempt was made to enforce the omitted clause, referred to above, by the Privy Council, who licensed these players to go to London, and wrote to the Lord Mayor requiring him to admit them within the City.

In this year, 1574, Lord Charles Howard became Chamberlain.

On 6th December 1574 (17th Eliz., and therefore not 1575, as Collier, i. 208, gives it) an Act of Common Council enacted, under pain of fine and imprisonment, that plays per-

formed in the City should first be licensed by the Lord Mayor, after perusal and allowance by persons appointed by him and the Court of Aldermen, and that of the money taken should be applied to the relief of the sick poor such sums as shall be agreed on (not half the takings, as Mr. Collier, i. 208, says). Plays at marriages, &c., in gentlemen's private houses (no money being taken at the doors) were to be allowed.

In 1575 "Her Majesty's poor players," *i.e.*, the whole body of then existing men actors who were going to perform at Court at Christmas (Warwick's, Leicester's, Howard's), petitioned the Privy Council for letters to the Lord Mayor to permit them to play within the City, and to order the Justices of Middlesex to permit them in the City liberties, according to certain articles annexed, in order that they might be properly exercised before performing at Court. This document must date,[1] as Collier rightly says, after the undated order that all interludes in public places [in the City] be wholly prohibited, and after suit made to the Lords for prohibition outside the City. (Printed by Hugh Singleton, n.d.). Before considering the "articles" I pause to note that the number of companies acting in public had doubled (six for three), and the number of actors in each had also doubled since Elizabeth's accession. Leicester's men in 1574 were only 5; the Chapel children in this year were 12 (Harl. MSS. No. 589). Now for the articles (abridged).

1. The players pretend they must have exercise before playing before Her Majesty.

ANSWER *from the City Authorities.*—They can exercise in private houses as permitted already It is not fit to play before the Queen plays previously acted before the basest assemblies.

2. They have to earn their living.

Answer.—Plays should be presented by way of recreation by men with other means of subsistence.

3. They require the L. Mayor's order to continue for the times of playing on holy days.

[1] That the date thus assigned does not agree with Collier's dating for the other documents does not concern me: it agrees with mine.

Answer.—The former orders of toleration [anterior to 1574] are expired by the last printed Act of Common Council: also, they omit the prohibition to receive auditories before Common Prayer be ended.

4. (Second article.) As to the dark in winter and bad weather hindering passage into the fields (Query, to inn-yards or scaffolds), in winter the remedy is not to bring them into the city, but give them up altogether.

5. (Third article.) To play in plague-time increases the plague by infection: to play out of plague-time calls down the plague from God.

6. Many who have recovered from the plague are at large, and increase the infection by their garments, running sores, &c.

7. The number of deaths from plague cannot be duly estimated from the reports, because those who die "without tokens" are not included; it were better to assume all increase of mortality over the average of 40 or 50 a week to be due to the plague, and allow plays only when the usual average has held for 2 or 3 weeks together.

8. They require that only Her Majesties' servants be permitted to play.

Answer. Last year the Queen's players only were tolerated. and all the play-places were filled with men calling themselves Queen's players. The number and names of the Queen's players should be given.

This disposes of Collier's hypothesis that "the Queen's players" at this date meant some single company, and shows that my interpretation is the true one.

These observations as well as the preceding Act of Common Council were made during the Mayoralty of Sir James Hawes, 1574, October 29–1575, October 29. Under his successor, Sir Ambrose Nicholas, "Remedies" were proposed by the Common Council to the Privy Council as follows: in full:—

"That they hold them content with playing at private houses, at weddings, &c., without public assemblies.

"If more be thought good to be tolerated, that then they be

restrained to the orders in the Act of Common Council, *tempore*, Hawes [6th December 1574].

"That they play not openly till the whole death in London have been by xx days under 50 a week, nor longer than it shall so continue.

"That no plays be on the Sabbath.

"That no playing be on holidays but after evening prayer, nor any received into the auditory till after evening prayer.

"That no playing be in the dark, nor continue any such time but as any of the auditory may return to their dwellings in London before sunset, or at least before it be dark.

"That the Queen's players only be tolerated, and of them their number and certain names to be notified in your Lordship's letters to the L. Mayor and to the Justices of Middlesex and Surrey. And those her players not to divide themselves into several companies.

"That for breaking any of these orders their toleration ceases."

Before considering the effect of this ultimatum of the Corporation I call the reader's emphatic attention to the words "in Surrey," as indicating for the first time performances on the south side of the Thames. Exclusion from the City drove the players northward, in all probability to scaffolds or inn-yards outside the walls, and southward across the river to Newington Butts, the Bull-Baiting place to the west of Paris Garden.

The specific "remedy" that prevented the acceptance of these articles was undoubtedly the limitation of the Queen's players to a single company. No single company could include the children players of Paul's and the Chapel, or provide the nine or ten plays required for the annual Court performances. Yet the jurisdiction of the Corporation within the City walls could not be denied. The "remedy" of the Privy Council was to provide play-places outside the City, but as near as might be; and while apparently agreeing with the City authorities, and so securing a temporary continuance of the five play-yards in the City, they evidently encouraged the erection of two "sumptuous theatre houses," the Theater and the Curtain, in Shoreditch. These were

erected in 1576, and are alluded to in a sermon at Paul's Cross by T. W., 9th December in that year; at which date, it appears in the sermon itself, they were closed on account of the Plague. These buildings were more offensive to the Corporation than the inn-yards, and no doubt exists that on the removal to them of the companies who there acted (probably Leicester's and Sussex'), they refused a renewal of their license to the inn-yards where they had hitherto performed (Query, the Bull and that near Paul's). For further details respecting the companies and theatres see under Sections C and D. Mr. Collier's statements as to a supposed theatre at Blackfriars of this date are now known to be based on forged documents; but a ballad which he quotes from MS. on a fly-leaf of a book is more likely genuine. I give it in an amended form :—

THE FOOLS OF THE CITY.

List unto my ditty!
Alas! the more the pity.
From Troynovant's old city
The Aldermen and Mayor
Have driven each poor player.
The cause I will declare.
They wisely do complain ['em]
Of Wilson and Jack Lane[ham],
And them who do maintain ['em],
And 'stablish as a rule
No one shall play the fool
But they—a worthy school.
Without a pipe and tabor
They only mean to labor
To teach each oxhead neighbor.
This is the cause and reason,
At every time and season,
That plays are worse than treason.

Mr. Collier, not seeing the necessity of the additions in brackets ("maintain" requires an object, "'em," after it), says that the copyist probably abridged Laneham to Lane for the sake of the rhyme, and this want of insight into the real state of the case, viz., that the ends of the three lines had been cut either in

the original or copied MS., convinces me that in this instance (unlike so many others) Mr. Collier has given us a genuine old ballad.

In 1577, on 6th April, Leicester wrote to Burghley reminding him of a suit of Sir Jerome Bowes and others which had been referred to them and the L. Chamberlain for consideration, and misliked. Bowes wanted a decision: (see Collier, i. 224, for the document).

In March 1577 Sir T. Benger, Master of the Revels, died. In the same year the Earl of Sussex was again appointed Chamberlain in place of Lord Charles Howard.

In 1578, on 28th August, a sermon by J. Stockwood, preached at Paul's Cross, inveighs against the Theater, the Curtain, and the City play-places. It mentions their throng on the Lord's Day, and "in some places they shame not in time of divine service to come and dance about the church; and without to have *naked men dancing in nets*, which is most filthy: for the heathen . . . counted it shameful to come on the stage without a slop." This would seem to be the story of the play printed from MS. by Mr. Bullen (The Distracted Emperor), in which La Busse is clothed in a net, and antics about the stage. Of course, he wore the "buff" usual for indicating nakedness. But the play as we have it is probably Dekker's, c. 1600, founded on this old one.

1578. Dec. 13.—Thomas Blagrave was appointed by a Privy Seal chief officer of the Revels. The Mastership was not filled up till the appointment by Letters Patent of Sir Edmond Tylney, 24th July 1579 ("Variorum," iii. 57). Blagrave was never Master, only Deputy. Collier (i. 229, note) wrongly asserts that he was. The dates given by him for Lyly's letters are also wrong (i. 231); they are much later. It appears from a letter to L. Burghley (Collier, i. 230) from William Bowles or Bowll that he and one John Holt, yeoman of the Queen's Revels, lately deceased, had been (as Bowles still was) among the applicants for this office. Holt had ceased to be yeoman in February 1572 ("Revels Accounts," p. 8). Bowles had advanced money as his deputy for the use of the Revels office, which, being unrepaid by

Holt, had brought him into great straits. Hence his claim to the appointment. Bowles' name continually recurs all through the accounts, but Mr. Collier (i. 230, note) had met with it nowhere but in this one letter, although half his work for this period consists of extracts from these accounts. It should be noted that, though Tylney's Patent dates in 1579, he must have been virtually appointed in 1578. He signed the accounts for the first time as from February to December 1578, and was allowed rent from Christmas 1578 to Midsummer 1579 as Master ("Revels," p. 149).

In 1579 the contest about the playing in the City assumed a literary shape. On 22nd July, "The School of Abuse," by Stephen Gosson, B.A., of Christ Church, Oxford, was licensed S. R. to Tho. Woodcock. Gosson had himself written a tragedy on Catiline, a comedy or Italian device on Captain Mario, and a morality, Praise at Parting. His book, a school of abuse in a different sense from the author's intention, was a bitter invective against players and other "Caterpillars of the Commonwealth." Thomas Lodge answered it in his "Defense of Plays," privately printed, and suppressed by authority. He shows that Gosson had been actor as well as playwright (probably with Leicester's men; his play on Catiline was acted at the Theater). Gosson, in his "Ephemerides of Phialo" (S. R. for Tho. Dawson, 1579, Nov. 7) alludes to it. Both of Gosson's books were dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, but "scorned" by him, says Gabriel Harvey. On 8th April 1580 a ballad was licensed (S. R. for Hen. Carre).

> "Come from the play: come from the play!
> The house will fall, so people say.
> The earth quakes; let us haste away!"

1580. Oct. 18.—A second and third blast of retreat from plays and theatres was licensed S. R. to Henry Denham [by A. Munday, who had been actor and author].

1580. Nov. 10, was licensed for Ed. White,

> "A ringing retreat courageously sounded,
> Wherein plays and players are fitly confounded."

This was the "ballad against plays," by Antony Munday, alluded to in "The True Report of the Death, &c., of M. Campion," 1581.

1582. Mar. [Apr.] 6.—S. Gosson published his "Plays Confuted, in Five Actions" (S. R. for Thomas Gosson, probably a relative). It appears from this work that the Play of Plays had been acted against him [viz., by Leicester's men, at Court, 26th December 1580, as the play of Delight, and also] in public [at the Theater].

1583. Mar. 1.—The "Anatomy of Abuses," by Philip Stubbs, was licensed S. R. for Ric. Jones. One chapter is on Stage Plays with their Wickedness.

1583. Nov. 7.—The second and third parts of the same were licensed S. R. for Wil. Wright.

I need not pursue this digression further. It is evident that the opponents of plays were unsuccessful playwrights and players who were hired by the City authorities to write for them under a show of godliness. We shall meet with a similar instance hereafter in W. Ranken, who, like Munday, when he saw a chance of prospering, gave up his piety and returned to the theatre. Such writers, however pleasing to the Corporation, were not likely to influence the Court, and to their struggle with the City I now return.

1578. Dec. 24.—In a letter from the Council (quoted from the Register by Chalmers) to the L. Mayor they require him to suffer the children of the Chapel and Paul's, and the servants of the Chamberlain (Sussex), Warwick, Leicester, and Essex, and no company else, to exercise plays within the City, they being appointed to play this Christmas before Her Majesty. They all did play except Essex'. This fixes the companies then allowed in London before the new outburst of the quarrel in 1579.

1580. April 12.—The L. Mayor wrote to the L. Chancellor respecting a disorder at the Theater on Sunday [10th April] and the wickedness caused by plays. See a valuable abstract of "City Records" in the *Athenæum*, 23rd January 1869.

1580. June 17.—The L. Mayor wrote to the L. Treasurer as to preventing infection in the city, putting down infamous houses, plays, &c.—*Ibid.*

1581. July 10.—The Council write to the Mayor and the Middlesex Justices for suppressing Plays and great assemblies till Michaelmas, for preventing the spread of the Plague, &c.—*Ibid.*

1581. Tuesday.—Baron Henry Berkley writes to the L. Mayor. His men were in prison for playing on the Sabbath, contrary to the Mayor's orders, which were unknown to them.—*Ibid.*

1581. Nov. 18.—The Privy Council write to the Common Council authorising the resumption of Plays; the Plague, on account of which they had been forbidden [on 10th July] having ceased; that they may be ready for the "Queen's solace at Christmas."—*Ibid.*

1581. Dec. 3.—The Privy Council write to the Common Council (who had evidently refused to permit the resumption of Plays) ordering them to allow the Players, who had petitioned the Privy Council on the subject, on any day except the Sabbath in the forenoon or afternoon, as heretofore accustomed. This letter is from the "Council Registers," not in the "City Records." I infer that the Common Council refused to receive it. But permission seems to have been granted except for Sundays and Holidays.

1581. Dec. 24.—From the Official Roll. A Patent was granted to E. Tylney, Master of the Revels, to retain Property-makers, and purchase Necessaries for the Revels, and to punish all Recusants by imprisonment; also to summon all Playmakers and Players to appear with such plays as they may have ready for reform and authorisation, or to be put down "together with their playing-places." This applied to the whole kingdom except the city of London, which, although not so expressed, evidently remained, so far as play-places are concerned, under the jurisdiction of the Common Council. The document is printed in full in Collier, i. 249, but quite out of place. Tylney used his authority at Leicester in 1583 in the case of one Haysell.

1582. April 11.—The Privy Council write to the L. Mayor for permitting plays on Holidays after evening prayer, and appointing some person to allow of fit plays.—"City Records," *ut supra.*

1582. April 25.—The Privy Council pray the L. Mayor to revoke his late inhibition against playing on holidays: if this become dangerous by reason of the Plague, their Lordships being informed will take measures accordingly. The jurisdiction in the City claimed in the preceding document is here clearly resigned (Collier, i. 242).

1582. July 1.—The Earl of Warwick requests of the L. Mayor, &c., license for his servant John David to play in his science of defense at the Bull in Bishopsgate St., evidently not the usual place for Warwick's men to play.—"City Records," *ut supra.*

1582. July 23.—A second letter expressing surprise at the Mayor's prohibition, and requesting more favour to be shown his servant.—*Ibid.*

1582. July 24.—The L. Mayor gives in answer his reasons for the prohibition.—*Ibid.*

In the autumn the Plague broke out, and the Michaelmas term was held at Hartford (see Stow); this, of course, caused the playhouses to be shut. On 18th January 1583 a scaffold at Paris Garden fell, killing several persons during a Sabbath performance. The Lord Mayor wrote to Burleigh the same day, and got an answer (wrongly dated 15th January in Collier, i. 238) prohibiting Sunday performances there in future.—"City Records," *ut supra.*

1583. April 17.—The L. Mayor writes to Mr. Young, a neighbouring Justice of Peace, about Plays intended to be performed on May 1.

This appears to me to be the time when the City authorities finally shut up the Bell, Bull, Bell Savage, the play-place nigh Paul's, and that in Whitefriars mentioned by Rawlidge, as well as the sixth inn-yard, that in Blackfriars, which he omits. He says it was shortly after 1580. These places being shut for the Plague, they seized the opportunity of making the closure permanent. But the Court had stolen a march on them. In 1583, on 10th March, Tylney was sent for to Court to choose a company of players for Her Majesty; and although these men

are not met with in London in that year (the players travelling on account of the Plague), the plan of making one company out of the best actors of Leicester's, Derby's, and Sussex' men was no doubt complete. This new company, and Howard's or Hunsdon's, could occupy the Theater and Curtain, and of themselves would be sufficient, with the boys' companies, for the Christmas "solace."

On 26th November 1583 the Privy Council informed the L. Mayor that they had licensed this new company, and on December 1 Sir Francis Walsingham, who had suggested the whole proceeding, sent him a further explanation. But before this, on 17th June, we hear of them in an affray at Norwich, where they were acting at the Red Lion Inn (Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 118). The main interest for us in this squabble is that it shews that Tarleton, Bentley (who played the Duke) and Singer were members of the company.

1584. Whit Sunday, 7th June.—By reason there were no plays, all the City was quiet. On Monday and Wednesday there were quarrels outside the Theater at play-time. On Sunday 14th June "My Lord [Mayor] sent two Aldermen to the Court for the suppressing and pulling down of the Theater and Curtain; for all the Lords agreed thereunto saving my Lord Chamberlain (C. Howard) and Mr. Vice Chamberlain, but we obtained a letter to suppress them all. Upon the same night I sent for the Queen's players, and my Lord of Arundel his players, and they all well nigh obeyed the lords' letters. The chiefest of her highness' players (Query, Dutton or Laneham) advised me to send for the owner of the Theater (Hyde), who was a stubborn fellow, and to bind him. I did so; he sent me word that he was my Lord of Hunsdon's man, and that he would not come at me; but he would in the morning ride to my Lord. Then I sent the under Sheriff for him, and he brought him to me, and at his coming he shouted me out 'very justice;' and in the end I showed him my Lord his master's hand, and then he was more quiet, but to die for it he would not be bound. And then, I minding to send him to prison, he made suit that he might be bound to appear at the

oier and determiner the which is to-morrow, where, he said, that he was sure the court would not bind him, being a councillor's man: and so I have granted his request where he shall be sure to be bound, or else is like to do worse" (Lansdowne MS. 41, art. 13; Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 41, correctly, but with erroneous deductions; Collier, i. 253, very inaccurately).

1585. April 25 (27th Eliz.).—The Queen issued a warrant for Thomas Gyles to take up children for the Paul's choir anywhere throughout the kingdom. As no exception is made (not even of the Queen's chapel), it follows that this was the only boys' company then acting; probably at their own singing school. Nichols gives the date rightly (ii. 432). Collier (i. 258) takes advantage of a misprint (26th for 27th Eliz.) to impugn Nichols' accuracy, and misplace the date by a year.

1585. July 4.—L. Hunsdon was appointed Chamberlain, and Lord Charles Howard, his predecessor, was constituted Lord High Admiral.—Rapin & Stow, p. 709.

1586. May 11.—In reply to the Lord Mayor's letter of May 7, the Privy Council desire him to restrain plays within and about the City for the avoiding of infection. Their Lordships have "taken the like order for the prohibiting of the use of plays at the Theater and the other places about Newington out of his charge" (Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 21). This establishes the limits of the Mayor's jurisdiction, and shows that Paris Garden and Newington Butts were then open (Paris Garden for bear-baiting, &c., and the other for plays and bull-baiting).—From MS. at the Privy Council Office.

The London companies had therefore to travel in 1586. One of them is important. It was licensed by the Earl of Worcester, 1586, January 14 (28th Eliz.), and played at Worcester ("Sh. Soc. Papers," iv. 145). Another equally important accompanied the Earl of Leicester abroad. But these will be more conveniently handled in the next chapter.

INTERCALATORY SECTION.

AUTHORS AND PLAYS (1559–1586).

It is, as I have already stated, not my intention in the present work to give usually under this head anything beyond a list of plays, with their ascertained authors, play-places, companies, &c. To attempt more would make the book too large and distract the reader from the main subject by critical discussions. I have, however, all the material ready for an exhaustive treatment of the chronological arrangement of all the plays of the period down to 1642, and hope to have life and strength to accomplish this task in another work, with accurate biographies of the play-writers. Incidentally I shall, however, in this one be obliged to touch on these matters, and as the present section is, as it were, an outlier from the main range of such history, I give here a fairly full account of the plays extant whose dates can be fixed as lying between 1559 and 1586. The reader may thus judge of the minuteness and accuracy of my work, and decide if he can withhold his judgment in cases where I may have to anticipate my further investigations until they also shall pass the press. My conclusions in many instances differ so widely from those of other men that this course seems to be thrust upon me.

I will first treat of the Court plays, noting previously that wherever a play ends with a prayer for the Queen it was unquestionably printed from a Court version. The converse does not hold; for many plays were acted at Court, but printed from playhouse versions, they having been acted both at Court and publicly. There is no adducible instance of a play not acted at Court ending with a prayer for the Queen.

The Nice Wanton.—This interlude, S. R. 10th June 1560, must have been acted previously at Court. The only assignable date is the entry of the Paul's boys on 5th August 1559. That of the Chapel boys on 31st December 1559 I will show to have been another play. The present interlude was merely a slightly

altered version of one produced under Edward VI. The prayer at the end has "queens" rhyming to "things," and has evidently been altered from "kings."

Misogonus.—On 31st December 1559 a play by the Chapel children was stopped as offensive to the Queen. This play was certainly not allowed to be published, and therefore could not be Albion Knight (licensed S. R. 1565), as Collier guessed. If extant, it must be in MS. The mutilated MS. of Misogonus exists in a copy made by Laurentius Bariōna, at Kettheringe, 20th November 1577, with a prologue by J. Rychardes. The date of writing is fixed in the play itself as in the 24th year after the "rising rection in the North" in 1536, which brings us to 1559–60. The analysis of the play in Collier shows ample reason for the Queen's offence, and there is no other entry to which it can be assigned. This was, in my opinion, the earliest English comedy.

Gammer Gurton's Needle.—This play was entered S. R. 1562–3, and had undoubtedly been played under its then title, Diccon of Bedlam. As we find in "Martin's Month's Mind," 1589, that it belonged to "Lanoham and his fellows," there can be no hesitation in assigning it to Leicester's men. Its anteriority of publication to any other play but one of theirs almost compels us to give the date of the Court performance as 1562–3. It was afterwards played at Cambridge in 1566, and publicly in London by the Queen's men. It was written by William Still, B.A., in 1561–2. He would hardly write a play while yet an undergraduate, which consideration excludes the 1560–1 entry. Our printed version is from a playhouse or author's copy, without prayer for the Queen.

The Disobedient Child.—This play, by Tho. Ingeland, is, like the Nice Wanton, an interlude of Edward VI.'s time altered. "The King" is mentioned in it. It may be identical with the Devil and Dives (the Rich Man and the Devil being in it two principal personages); but it was certainly acted very early in Elizabeth's reign, I think by Leicester's men, 1560–1. There is no indication of children actors in it. It was entered S. R. 1564.

A few lines are quoted as part of the interlude introduced in the play of Sir T. More, the rest being made up from Lusty Juventus, another Edward VI. production.

Ferrex and Porrex (Gorboduc), by T. Norton (Acts i., ii., iii.) and T. Sackville, &c. (Acts iv., v.), was acted 1562, January 18. This was the first English tragedy, and is in blank verse, modelled on Seneca.

Rafe Royster Doyster, by Nicholas Udall, was entered S. R. 1566–7. It was probably acted early (I conjecture on 6th March 1561), as it, like other plays of the first three years of Elizabeth, was a revival of an Edward VI. interlude. But in this instance a thorough revision was made, and, I think, the whole play was rewritten. Compare the Psalmody at the end with that in the play, and note the use of Queen (not King) in the play itself. I think it far too finished a production in its present state as published 1566–7 to have remained unimitated for ten years; and it certainly does not follow that, because the letter in it was quoted in Sir Thomas Wilson's Rule of Reason in 1551, the rest of the play remained equally unaltered. The allusion to Plautus and Terence in the Prologue shows the models the author had before him. The letter in the play was the prototype of the Prologue to Pyramus and Thisbe in Midsummer Night's Dream. The acting of Ezechias before the Queen at Cambridge in 1564, also by Udall, would point to a still later date than I have conjectured, viz., to Christmas 1564–5. Elizabeth may have met with Udall at Cambridge, and commanded another play of him, if she liked the Ezechias.

King Darius, an interlude for six players, was entered S. R. October 1565. This was probably an old interlude, revived possibly at Christmas 1563–4. It is strongly anti-papist, and has a prayer for Elizabeth at the end.

Like will to Like, quoth the Devil to the Collier, is an interlude for five players, entered S. R. 1568–9, written by Ulpian Fulwel. A principal character in it is Ralph Roister. It has a prayer for the Queen. It was almost certainly produced at Court by a children's company soon after the revival of Roister

Doister, in opposition to the boys who had given offence 31st December 1559. This author says in the Prologue:—

"No lascivious toys he purposeth to use."

The only available Court entry under which to place it is that of the Paul's children, 1562–3. It has been thought to be the play of Collier acted by Leicester's men 30th December 1576, but it is very unlikely that a play published eight years before should have been acted at Court in these early times.

Damon and Pythias, by Richard Edwards, "Master of Her Majesty's Revels." So says the title of the 1570 edition (the S. R. entry dates 1567–8). He was really Master of the children of Her Majesty's chapel, by whom, no doubt, this "tragical comedy" was performed. The Prologue is the key to the chronological position of many plays. In it he humbly craves pardon for having ranged too much in young desires, and written sports and comical toys, and admits that a Roister should not preach: he has offended, and will amend. All this indicates that Edwards was the author of the play by the Chapel boys, which had given offence, and which I have identified with the anonymous Misogonus. The internal evidence of authorship is also strong; *e.g.*, the word "colpheg," to buffet, is found in both plays, and I believe nowhere else. Aristippus in the play is evidently Edwards, and Carisophus either Fulwell or Westcott. The allusions to Like will to Like are numerous, the most remarkable being that to one who preached against large breeches "of late; not far hence: in no pulpit, but in a waincart." The breeches, "as big as new barrels," are claimed as the invention of the Vice in Fulwell's play, and this is clearly the preaching aimed at. Putting all these inductions together, we get the consecution of plays, thus:—Misogonus, by R. Edwards, was acted 31st December 1559, by the Chapel boys, and gave offence. On 6th March 1561 Ralph Royster was revived in an enlarged form, by the Paul's boys; in 1562–3 they satirised the unsuccessful Edwards as Ralph Royster in Like will to Like; in 1563–4 the inhibition on the Chapel boys was removed, and Edwards, who

in 1561, during the interim, had been made Master of the Chapel children, retaliated by the personalities of Damon and Pythias. That this play also gave offence may be inferred from the fact that the Chapel boys did not act at Court again till 1567–8. The Paul's boys did regularly.

Appius and Virginia, by R. B., another "tragical comedy," was a "first attempt" of the actors of nearly the same date. It also contains allusions to the characters in Like will to Like, and, unless the date by me assigned to that play is wrong, must have been the first presentation by the Westminster children, 1563–4. It is one of the many plays ridiculed by Shakespeare in Love's Labour's Lost and Midsummer Night's Dream. He disliked its excess of alliteration. Entered S. R. 1567–8.

A new interlude of Vice concerning the history of Horestes. This play, written by John Pickering, was published in 1567 by William Griffith (Collier, ii. 412), who had published Gorboduc, but not Gammer Gurton or Roister Doister, as Mr. Collier, with his usual inaccuracy, asserts that he had. The edition of Gorboduc was surreptitious, and so, probably, was this one. Griffith does not appear to have issued any properly authorised edition of a play, nor can I find any entry of this Orestes in the "Stationers' Registers." If surreptitious, the play was probably then on the stage, *i.e.*, between 25th March 1567 and 25th March 1568. But a play of Orestes was acted at Court between 14th July 1567 and 3rd March 1568, which must surely have been the same play. The extant copy is not the Court version, but contains strong evidence of being an alteration of a Court version for the public stage. At the end of the prayer for the Queen at the conclusion (a sure mark of Court plays), an additional stanza of prayer for the Mayor and Corporation of London is annexed—a unique example of such a finale, I believe. This interlude includes a mixture of allegorical and historical personages, twenty-four in all, but arranged for six players. The unusual amount of indecency in it, of which Collier complains, is probably due to its being a surreptitious and "unreformed" publication. We may be sure that the indecent part was an addition

made for the City audience, and that it was not included in the Court version. At this date the Queen was rather fastidious on such matters. Collier's crowning blunder is his assertion that it must have been performed at the Red Bull theatre in 1567. The Red Bull was not used for acting till 1609, and there was no theatre whatever in existence till 1576. The tune of King Solomon, "the date of which we have no means of knowing," says Collier, is mentioned in it, and was, of course, that of the ballad entered to T. Purfoot, 1564–5, S. R.

King Johan, two plays in one, was edited by Collier from a M.S. in the Duke of Devonshire's library, for the Camden Society, in 1838. This MS. was formerly in the possession of the municipal body of Ipswich, where the plays, beyond doubt, must have been performed. From p. 66 l. 13 the MS. is in the handwriting of Bishop Bale, who died in 1563, and as it contains a distinct statement (p. 102) that it was produced under Queen Elizabeth, it must date between 1558 and 1563. She was at Ipswich 1561, August 5–10, and at no other time. The concluding prayer shows that the plays were acted before her; and there can be no doubt that it was on that occasion. The spelling varies; *e.g.*, we find in Bale's script Englande and Cyvyle Ordre; in the earlier portion, Ynglonde and Syvyll Order. This shows that Bale's alterations were made on a transcript of an older play, but does not necessarily indicate a different authorship; and as Bale, in his own list of his dramatic works, mentions one *in idiomate materno de Joanne Anglorum Rege*, and no other play on John of so early a date is anywhere heard of, it is almost certain that the original play, as well as the refashioned one, was by him. This is confirmed by the internal evidence of style. That the alteration was a hurried one, such as would be likely to be improvised at a sudden emergency like the Queen's visit, is evident. Certain allegorical personages in the play are identified with historical individuals in a way that occurs in no other play within my knowledge. Thus, Sedition is Archbishop Stephen Langton; Private Wealth is Cardinal Pandulphus; Usurped Power is Pope Innocent; and in the second

part Dissimulation is the Monk Simon of Swansett; but in p. 41, in a passage which Bale forgot to alter, Dissimulation is Raymundus (an emissary Friar, not Raymund of Toulouse), which points to a different conduct of the plot in the earlier play. The division between the two plays undoubtedly comes in at the end of the Interpreter's speech, p. 43, "Finit Actus Primus," the following stage direction, "Here the Pope go out," being part of the original play, which should have been cancelled when Bale inserted this Interpreter, who is identical with "Verity" in the still later scenes

It is worth while to insert here a list of the characters:—

1. King John.
2. England, a Widow.)
3. Clergy.)
4. Sedition (Holy Perfection) = Stephen Langton.)
5. Civil Order [Law]. }
6. Commonalty.)
7. Nobility.)
8. Private Wealth = Cardinal Pandulph.)
9. Dissimulation = *a.* Raymundus; *b.* Simon of Swanset.
10. Usurped Power = Pope Innocent.
11. Treason.
12. Interpreter = Verity [Bale].
13. Imperial Majesty [= Henry VIII.; but also Elizabeth].

These thirteen characters required but nine actors, some parts being doubled, as indicated by the brackets.

It appears from pp. 89, 91 that Imperial Majesty had commanded Verity to show the people their duty by means of this play, and although ostensibly Imperial Majesty is Henry VIII., for whom, c. 1540, the play was evidently first produced, still under a very thin disguise, Elizabeth is in the altered one clearly pointed at. I would especially direct the reader's attention to the word "governor" in pp. 89, 90, 93. Elizabeth refused the title of Head of the Church, and insisted on having that of Governor, to the great discontent of the Nonconformists. See Fuller's "Church History," under the date 1559.

I have been thus full in the treatment of this play because I agree with Professor A. W. Ward in his estimate of its importance as being, though by no means the first chronicle history in its full sense (Richard III., as played by the Queen's men c. 1587, was the first play of that kind), yet the first play in which an English sovereign was brought upon the stage. Moreover, it is little read, even by Shakespearian students.

The four lines "opposite letter B.," p. 68, which Collier could not insert in their proper place, should come before p. 66 l. 1, as shown by the words "at a point." Collier's editing is, as usual, perfunctory and careless. A comparison of the present notice with his Introduction will justify this statement.

The Marriage of Wit and Science, S. R., 1569–70, the best of all extant Moralities, is surely the play of Wit and Will (the names of Wit and his page), acted 1567–8 (by what company is uncertain), but printed from a playhouse copy, with no prayer for the Queen. There were six actors.

Cambyses, by Tho. Preston, appears to allude to Bonner as dead. He died 5th September 1569. If so, the play must have been published immediately after its production at Court, 1569–70, at Christmas. It was entered S. R. 1569–70. This quick publication was frequent for plays written by men still resident at the university for the Court; most unusual for those produced on public stages. Preston, in 1564, while Fellow of King's College, had so pleased the Queen by his excellent acting in Dido and his good disputing that she pensioned him with £20 a year, to the great displeasure of Tho. Cartwright, his fellow-disputant (Fuller, p. 139). Shakespeare's allusions to this pension and to Cambyses' vein are well known. The play requires eight actors, and was revived as Huff, S[n]uff, and Ruff at Christmas 1578–9, before 21st February (Nichols, ii.* 250). A reference to the tables of Court performances will show that the only available dates are those of 1570, January 6, and 1578, December 27, both in the Chapel children's column.

New Custom. A Morality probably altered from one of Edward VI.'s time, as the controversy about square caps is

alluded to in it as contemporary. This question was raised by John Rogers and Richard Hooper in 1550 (Fuller, p. 405). In its present state the Morality is of the time of Elizabeth, but as the revival of old Moralities is mostly met with very early in her reign, and very few actors—four—are required in this one, I would date it 1562–3, near King Darius, which is so like it in its anti-papistry. The actor of Avarice mentions his having "played in the days of Queen Mary."

The Triumphs of Love and Fortune [by Kyd], Sappho and Campaspe, by Lyly, and the Arraignment of Paris, by Peele, will be more conveniently treated of in my subsequent work.

Jocasta and The Supposes were acted by the gentlemen of Gray's Inn in 1566. Remarkable plays both, as being translations. The Supposes, from Ariosto, by Geo. Gascoigne, was the first prose play represented in English, and afforded the foundation for part of The Taming of the Shrew. Jocasta, from Euripides' Phœnissæ, by Gascoigne (Acts ii., iii., v.) and F. Kinwelmarsh (Acts. i., iv.), with an Epilogue by Chris. Yelverton, was the first adaptation of a Greek play to the English stage. Gascoigne's Glass, if ever acted at all, was also probably privately presented at Gray's Inn. It was published in 1572. The Supposes was revived at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1582.

Robin Conscience, by an unknown author, is merely a dialogue, published in 1573, and is only mentioned here because Collier has included it in his list. It has no connexion with the stage.

Promos and Cassandra, published 1578, by G. Whetstone, was not acted as far as we know. It is noticeable because the plot of Measure for Measure is taken from it. In the Dedication there is an interesting description of the English plays of the time, their violation of the unities, and want of decorum in their characters.

The Conflict of Conscience, by Nath. Woodes, minister of Norwich, founded on the career of Francis Spiera, the Italian lawyer, was published in 1581, but written soon after Elizabeth's accession. It is only worth notice for its introducing at so early a date a recent real character into a moral interlude.

I have yet to notice such dramatic productions as were not acted at Court but may have been presented on the public stages.

The Trial of Treasure (published 1566); The Longer Thou Livest the more Fool Thou art, by W. Wager (published 1571–6, and interesting for an enumeration of popular ballads contained in it); All for Money, by T. Lupton (published 1577); and The Tide Tarrieth for no Man, by Geo. Wapul (published 1576), are simply instances of the survival of the older Morality after the introduction of Tragedy and Comedy on the models of Seneca and Plautus. They teach us nothing as to the historical development of the drama in England.

Tom Tiler and his Wife (first published 1562–3, not 1578, as Collier says) is interesting as an early specimen of the mixed Comedy-Morality. It was acted by children. It was reprinted by Kirkman in 1661 as an old play "printed and acted about 100 years ago."

Albion Knight was another Comedy-Morality, published 1565 and supposed by Collier (in direct opposition to the fact of its publication having been duly licensed) to have been suppressed by authority. It turns chiefly on the want of concord between the lords temporal and spiritual, and must date, I think, very soon after Elizabeth's accession.

Godly Queen Hester (published 1561, and written after 4th December, "in the third year of our reign," *i.e.*, in that same year) is beyond doubt a play acted by the Chapel children publicly by way of retaliation for their inhibition at Court in 1560. In it Hester has a chapel-royal whose choir is called in to sing before her. The numerous topical allusions in this play point it out as eminently worth reprinting. It is also noticeable as the very latest Scriptural Morality extant that was acted on the English stage, having been performed in 1594 by Hunsdon's men under the name of Hester and Ahasuerus. But at this date it had no doubt been greatly modified.

The plays of Common Conditions [acted by Leicester's men], Clyomon and Clamydes, acted by the Queen's players, and The Ladies of London [also acted by Leicester's company] will be

more conveniently handled in my future work under the head of R. Wilson. I shall then give my reasons for assigning their authorship to him. I cannot trace to this period any other play with certainty, but I am inclined to assign to it the following:—

The Famous Victories of Henry V. This play, in which Tarleton acted as clown, cannot be later than 1588, and was probably anterior to all other "histories," being far inferior to the early plays on John, Richard III., &c. I have noted in my "Life of Shakespeare" how often in these early plays the Christian names of the comic characters are taken from the real names of the actors. In this play, acted by the Queen's men, we find John [Laneham], Robin [Wilson], Lawrence [Dutton], Tom [Dutton], and Ned. I believe it to have been acted c. 1585–6, and to have been written by Tarleton. The repetitions so frequent in it correspond exactly with what we know of his writing. This play is alluded to by Nash in his Peers Penniless, 1592.

The Seven Deadly Sins, certainly by Tarleton, I have identified with the Five Plays in One and Three Plays in One acted at Court 1584–5. I defer further discussion of these to the next chapter, under 1592, when one of them was revived.

In this chapter we have seen the establishment of Tragedy and Comedy, the decay of Mysteries and Moralities; we have followed step by step the quarrel between the City authorities and the Court, eventuating in the establishment of theatres in the place of play-places in inn-yards; we have seen the development of settled men's companies in London, and the temporary inhibition of children's; but as yet no author of genius, or even of pre-eminent talent, has appeared as a writer for the public stage. It is the advent almost simultaneously of many such men that differentiates the period which we shall treat of in the next chapter.

APPENDIX.

ENTRIES IN THE STATIONERS' REGISTERS (1557–1586).

Date.	Publisher.	Name of Play.
1557, July 19–1558, July 9.	John Walley.	Wealth and Health [Enterlude]; Youth, Charity, and Humility [Enterlude: transferred to W. Copland, n. d., and later to S. Awdeley].
,, ,,	Henry Sutton.	An enterlude upon the history of Jacob and Esau out of Genesis xxvii. [Henry Bynneman, 1568].
1560, June 10.	John King.	Nice Wanton [Enterlude]; Impatient Poverty [Enterlude, transferred to S. Awdeley].
1560, Aug. 14.	John King.	[Lusty] Juventus. [Four may play it easily.] A play. [W. Copland, n. d.; A Veale, n. d., but c. 1571 to 1576; written by R. Wever. Enterlude.]
1560, Oct. [Nov.] 30	Will. Copland.	A New Play called . . . .
1560, Nov. 30–1561, July 8.	Will. Pekerynge [and T. Hackett].	A play of [Godly] Queen Hester [Enterlude].
,, ,,	Tho. Hackett.	Play of Witless.
,, ,,	Tho. Hackett.	Tytus and Jesypus [by Ralph Radcliffe, c. 1538].
1561, July 22–1562, July 24.	Tho. Hackett.	A new enterlude of the two sins of King David [Qy. Bale's David and Absalom in Ashburnham MSS.].
1562 [Nov. 6].	Will. Copland.	A comedy or enterlude of M. John Bale [The three laws of Nature, Moses, and Christ, 1538. Dated 6th Nov. 1562].
1562, Nov. 6–1563, July 22.	Will. Copland.	Jack Jugler and Mistress Boundgrace, enterlude.
,, ,,	Tho. Colwell.	Dyccon of Bedlam, &c. A play [Gammer Gurton's Needle by John Still. T. Colwell, 1575].
1564, Sept.–Oct.	Tho. Colwell.	A picture of a child [The Disobedient Child], enterlude by T. Ingeland, late Student in Cambridge.
1565, July 22–Oct.	Tho. Colwell.	A Merry Play, both pithy and pleasant, of Albion Knight.

Date.	Publisher.	Name of Play.
1565, July 22–Oct.	Will. Greffeth.	A Tragedy of Gorbodoc, where iii acts were writtem by Tho. Norton, and the last by Tho. Sackvile, &c. [Extant Edition printed by John Daye, 1570].
1565 [Oct.]	Tho. Colwell.	A play entitled of the story of King Darius, taken out of 3 Esdras iii., iv. Six may easily play it.
1565, Oct.–1566, July 22.	Tho. Colwell.	The eight tragedies of Seneca.
,, ,,	Tho. Colwell.	A ballad entitled an enterlude, The Cruel Debtor, by [W.] Wager.
,, ,,	Tho. Colwell.	The tragedy of Seneca, Medea, by John Studley, of Trinity College, Cambridge.
,, ,,	Tho. Purfoot.	Do all things to edify the congregation, a book [The Trial of Treasure]. Five players.
1566, July 22–1567, July 22.	Hen. Denham.	Seneca tragedies, ix and x, by T. W., fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge.
,, ,,	Tho. Hackett.	Rauf Ruyster Duster, a play [by Nich. Udall].
,, ,,	Tho. Hackett.	Far fetcht and dear bought is good for ladies, a play.
,, ,,	Tho. Hackett.	A play of Fortune to know each one hyr [their] conditions and gentle manners, as well of women as of men, &c.
,, ,,	John Charlewod.	The Repentance of Mary Magdalen, &c., an enterlude [by Lewis Wager].
,, ,,	John Charlewod.	The marriage of canonical clerks, an enterlude.
1567, July 22–1568, July 22.	Rich. Jonnes.	The tragical comedy of Damonde and Pethyas [by R. Edwards; acted by the Chapel children. R. Jones, 1571–1582].
,, ,,	Rich. Jonnes.	A tragedy of Apius and Virgine [Appius and Virginia, by R. B.; acted by Westminster children; printed by W. How, 1575, for R. Jones].
1568, July 22–1569, July 22.	John Alde.	Like will to like, quod the Devil to the Collier, a play [Enterlude by Ulpian Fulwel. J. Allde, 1568, 1587].
,, ,,	Tho. Colwell.	The play of Susanna [extant 1812].

Date.	Publisher.	Name of Play.
1569, July 22–1570, July 22,	Tho. Colwell.	An enterlude for boys to handle and to pass time at Christinmass [Tom Tyler and his Wife. Reprinted by F. Kirkman, 1661, "as printed and acted about 100 years ago." The ballads on Susanna and Tom Tiler were entered together for Colwell, 1562–3].
,, ,,	Tho. Marsh.	The Marriage of Wit and Science. A play.
,, ,,	John Alde.	A lamentable tragedy, full of pleasant mirth. An enterlude. [Cambyses, King of Persia, by T. Preston; n. d. by J. Alde; n. d. by E. Alde.]

[There are no extant entries in S. R. from 1571, July, to 1576, July. During this interval were printed the comedy called Common Conditions (wrongly stated by Halliwell to be entered in S. R.); the first part of Robin Conscience; New Custom, printed by W. How for A. Veale, 1573 (compare Appius and Virginia, 1575 edition); The Longer Thou Livest the More Fool Thou art, a comedy, by W. Wager, printed by W. How for R. Jones; and Jocasta and The Supposes, in George Gascoigne's Works, 1572, 1575, for R. Smith. There were no unlicensed editions of plays during the period 1558–86.]

Date.	Publisher.	Name of Play.
1576, July 26.	John Hunter.	A new and pleasant Comedy or Play, after the manner of Common Conditions. [The only play known after this manner is Clyomon and Clamydes, usually, but wrongly, attributed to Peele. The 1599 edition was printed by T. Creede for an unknown publisher. Both plays are plainly by one author, probably R. Wilson.]
1576, Oct. 22.	Hugh Jackson.	The tide tarrieth no man. Enterlude ["Comedy" by Geo. Wapull. Four may play it].
1577. Nov. 25.	Roger Ward [and Rich. Mundee].	An enterlude, All for Money ["Comedy" by T. Lupton].
1578, July 31.	Rich. Jones.	The famous history of Promos and Casandra divided into two Comical discourses by G. Whetstone, gent.
1579, Aug. 3.	Hen. Walley.	The second book of Robin Conscience, with four songs, in two parts.

[The date, 1579, on the title of the MS. of the Marriage of Wit and Wisdom is that of transcription. It was probably published in the time of Edward VI. In 1581 (see title-page) R. Bradock printed the Conflict of Conscience, by Nat. Woodes, minister at Norwich, a "comedy" on Francis Spiera, for six players. It was probably never publicly acted, and printed privately for the author. Bradock was not a publisher, only a printer.]

Date.	Publisher.	Name of Play.
1582, Jan. 15.	John Charlewood.	Transferred from Sampson Awdeley [First book of] Robin Conscience. [See 1571–6.]
		The weather [by J. Heywood, W. Rastel, A. Kytson].
		Four P. [by J. Heywood; W. Myddylton; W. Copland; J. Allde, 1569, Sep. 14].
		Love [by J. Heywood; J. Waley].
		Youth [see 1557–8].
		Impatient Poverty [see 1560, June 10].
		Hickscorner [W. de Worde; J. Waley].
		} Playbooks.
1584, April 6.	Tho. Cadman.	The comedy of Sappho, by J. Lyllye, if he get it lawfully allowed unto him.
1584, Nov. 12.	Tho. Hackett.	Fedele et Fortuna [by A. Monday]. The deceits in Love discoursed in a Commedia of ii Italian gent. and translated into English.
1585, Apr. 1.	Gab. Cawood.	Tityrus and Galatea. A comedy [by J. Lyly].

For the entries from this date onwards to 1642 see my "Life and Work of Shakespeare."

CHAPTER II.

SECTION A.

INTRODUCTION (1587–1593).

IMMEDIATELY after the cessation of the Plague of 1586 a wholesome emulation arose between the two principal men's companies, caused by the simultaneous appearance of a group of university dramatic authors, some of whom were also actors. Up to this time the plays for the men's companies had been chiefly provided by players who had not received a liberal education, and who were narrowed in their views of what was feasible on the stage by their long experience in the production of moral interludes in which the chief characters were mere philosophic abstractions. It is true that the children's companies had presented comedies of university origin, and that the Inns of Court had produced tragedies written by their own members in the previous period; but until 1587 educated men who made it the business of their lives to promote the interest of the stage by their plays or their playing were unknown. It will be the object of my future volume to trace the careers of these men, but I may here anticipate such results of my investigations as are necessary for the comprehension of this peculiar and important epoch. The Queen's men secured the services of Robert Greene as poet and actor, but the Admiral's were supported by Lodge, Peele, and Marlowe, and for a brief space were decidedly the principal company in London. But after some year and a half all these men left the Admiral's company and joined the Queen's, which then appeared likely to retain a monopoly of public acting. This

state of things was of very short duration. In 1589 Pembroke's men began to act in London, and were joined by Marlowe, along with Kyd and Dekker, who, though not university men, were of considerable importance. Then Nash came up from Cambridge, and in conjunction with Greene, commenced the first virulent controversy that had arisen between public stages. The plays and pamphlets of this quarrel are filled with scurrilous abuse.

About the same time Lord Strange's company was formed, of which Shakespeare was a member, and this too fell under Greene's critical scourge. I think that Peele joined these players, and am almost sure that Wilson did. Any way, Greene was left single-handed to maintain the honour of the Queen's men; for Lodge, the only dramatic author who remained of his party, went abroad, and Nash did not write for the public stage at this time. He failed in this Herculean labour; the odds were too great; and early in 1592 the Queen's company practically broke up. But before this, simultaneously with the war of the stages, two other controversies had been raging; one the well-known Puritan battle of the Martin Marprelate pamphlets; the other, the personal dispute between the Harveys and Lyly Greene and Nash. In both of these Greene was concerned; in both of them the stage was called to aid him; for Harvey, as well as Martin, was represented on the boards of the Theater, and I have not the slightest doubt that it was this triplicity of satire which caused the cessation of this company's action.

One most important result of the five years of Greene's career was the diminution of the Court influence on the stage. This was undermined at first by the appearance of a band of educated men, who, having to obtain their subsistence by their plays (for they were all poor men), sought necessarily to increase the takings at the doors before all other considerations. "Sumptuous theatres" and poets who were *Magistri in artibus* were costly accessories. The satirical comedies (none of which were, or were likely to be, produced at Court) were sure to be popular, and would, of course, increase the tendency to cater for popular

audiences. This, again, was further developed by the very efforts made by the authorities to suppress all personal satire—nothing draws a larger crowd than a forbidden exhibition—and the ultimate result was a wholesome competition among the companies for popular favour, very slightly affected by the consideration of regal Christmas festivities, and after 1591 practically freed from the overpoise of Royal patronage directly granted to any one company.

In 1592, then, Lord Strange's men (Shakespeare's company, be it remembered), having obtained their deserved position of pre-eminence, introduced a new disturbing factor into the theatrical equation by opening their playhouse, not in the Shoreditch fields, to which the gallants could ride, but on the Bankside, to which the chief access was by water. This revolutionised the river traffic, and called into existence a vastly increased body of watermen. Marlowe joined them here, and with Alleyn and Burbadge as their chief actors, Marlowe and Shakespeare as their chief poets, it is no wonder that the Talbot scenes in the 1 Henry 6 drew such enormous crowds of spectators across the Thames. Pembroke's company, having lost its best author, again fell into insignificance; and the Admiral's, although showing more vitality, produced nothing in this year of permanent value.

Of the outer life of the drama I do not remember anything further of importance outside the facts detailed in the subsequent sections. It is in its inner life, as shown in the plays still extant, that this period is important. During these seven prentice years, while Shakespeare was learning his business as an actor from Alleyn and Burbadge, and his business as a playwright from his coadjutors, Marlowe and Peele, the whole system of play-production made a greater stride than it had in the preceding quarter of a century. The use of prose in comedy; the greater freedom of the blank verse, to which, in my opinion, Peele contributed as much as his greater contemporary, Marlowe; the introduction of rhyming heroics, admixed with prose, blank, and doggerel, all tended to obliterate the too great likeness of the young drama to its classical progenitors, and to develop in it a

character of its own. In these matters of outward form these men attained to a singularly high standard, but the real importance of their work lies in the fact that now for the first time was it undertaken by men of real genius. Of this Pleiad constellation, Greene, Kyd, Lodge, Peele, Nash, Marlowe (Dekker being the seventh or lost star, but lately restored to his place), the meanest has touches of that ethereal quality which appeals to our common humanity, and makes us feel that we too are of their kin; but the greatest, Marlowe, reaches at times a height as lofty as the highest flight of Shakespeare. Had he had strength of wing to hover there sustained he would have been his equal in tragic force; nay, had he lived another score of years, the man who at thirty died at least the peer of our greatest poet in 1593 might have retained his parity of estate with him in 1613. This is the reason why, despite the sneers of critics and the contempt of the readers of modern plays, the student still recurs with pleasure to Dyce's admirable series of editions of Greene, Peele, Marlowe, &c., yet unsurpassed in our bibliographic annals. The same reason induced our ancestors, immediately after Marlowe's death, to require such a mass of dramatic publications as had never before issued from the press. This will be seen by reference to the extracts from the "Stationers' Registers" in my "Life of Shakespeare."

I ought also to notice here the new kind of drama which, under the name of Chronicle History, arose with the Armada and died with Elizabeth. It was at first regarded as a variant of tragedy, but even then it usually assumed the title of "True Tragedy," so as to mark the difference between the stories of Henry 6 or Richard 3, which closely followed the Chronicles, and those of Alphonsus and Charlemagne, in which any amount of latitude was admissible. The inventor of this species, I take it, was Marlowe; Peele introduced the irregular comic element into it. Shakespeare perfected both methods, at first rivalling Marlowe, and afterwards Peele; Greene was only a contributor, as coadjutor. Heywood and others followed in the wake of Shakespeare, but only in the hands of these early Elizabethans did the method succeed. Ford's Perkin Warbeck, for instance, is one of

his best plays, but the interest excited by it is of a totally different character; it is no more a "history" than Massinger's Emperor of the East.

SECTION B.

COURT PERFORMANCES (1586–1593).

1587. Xmas.—Four plays were presented by the Queen's men and the children of Paul's.

1588. Feb. 18, Shrove Sunday.—A play by Paul's boys for which Tho. Giles was paid April 9 (Chalmers).

Shrovetide. The Queen's men were paid Mar. 4 for 3 plays presented at Xmas and Shrovetide (Chalmers). One play was on Shrove Tuesday, Feb. 20 (Collier, i. 260).

1588. Feb. 28.—The Misfortunes of Arthur was presented by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn. Written by Tho. Hughes, aided by W. Fulbeck (2 speeches), N. Trotte (introduction), F. Flower (chorus 1, 2), C. Yelverton, F. Bacon, and J. Lancaster (dumb shows).

The total number of plays this year was seven, all at Greenwich ("Revels Accounts," p. 198).[1]

1589. Mar. 3.—T. Giles was paid for sundry [3] plays by the Paul's boys in the Christmas holidays (Chalmers).

1589. Jan. 5, Feb. 9.—Two plays by the Admiral's men on Sunday after Xmas and Shrove Sunday were paid for on 27th Feb.

1588. Dec. 26; 1589, Feb. 9 (Query). — Two plays by the Queen's men on St. Stephen's day and Shrove Sunday (Query. See preceding entry) were paid for on 16th Mar. (Chalmers).

This year's performances were at Richmond.

1589. Sep.—A Mask of 6 maskers with torchbearers and

[1] Mr. Collier quotes (i. 263) from S. R. A device at Greenwich, 12th Nov. 1588. No such entry under that date exists, nor can I find it under any date.

speechmakers was sent into Scotland to the King of Scots' marriage by the Queen's command (Lansdown MSS. No. 59).

1589. Dec. 23.—The Admiral's men showed feats of activity. Paid for 10th Mar. 1590.

1589. Dec. 26 (St. Stephen's day).—A play by the Queen's men, paid for 15th Mar., to John Dutton and John Lanham.

1590. Jan. 1 (New Year's day).—A play by the Paul's boys; paid for 10th Mar.

1590. Jan. 4 (Sunday after Xmas).—A play by the Paul's boys; paid for 10th Mar.

1590. Jan. 6 (Twelfth day).—A play by the Paul's boys; paid for 10th Mar.

1590. Mar. 1 (Shrove Sunday).—A play by the Queen's men; paid for 15th Mar.

1590. Mar. 3 (Shrove Tuesday).—A play by the Admiral's men; paid for 10th Mar. (Chalmers).

1590. Dec. 26 (St. Stephen's).—An enterlude by the Queen's men.

1590. Dec. 27 (St. John's).—A play by the Admiral's men.

1591. Jan. 1 (New Year).
Jan. 3 (Sunday after New Year).
Jan. 6 (Twelfth day).
Feb. 14 (Shrove Sunday).
} Enterludes by the Queen's men.

Feb. 16 (Shrove Tuesday).—A play by the Admiral's men.

All these were paid for, according to Chalmers' extracts from the "Council Registers," on March 5. P. Cunningham gives from the "Treasurer's Office Book" corresponding entries on March 7 for the Queen's players only, with the additions, "Lawrence Dutton and John Dutton . . . and their company;" and for the New Year's play "John Laneham . . . and his company." On this he founds a hypothesis of two Queen's companies, which Collier adopts. It is too absurd to be worth discussing. I doubt the genuineness of the entry, but it is in perfect accordance with the known facts.

1591. Dec. 26 (St. Stephen's).—A play by the Queen's men.
Dec. 27 (St. John's).
Dec. 28 (Innocent's). } Plays by L. Strange's men.
1592. Jan. 1 (New Year).
Jan. 2 (Sunday after New Year).—A play by Sussex' men.
Jan. 6 (Twelfth Night).—A play by Hertford's men.
Jan. 9 (Sunday after Twelfth Day).
Feb. 6 (Shrove Sunday).
Feb. 8 (Shrove Tuesday). } Plays by L. Strange's men.

These were presented at Whitehall, and all paid for 20th February except the Queen's men, who were paid 27th February, a week later, although theirs was the first performed. This was their last appearance at Court, L. Strange's men's first. Sussex' and Hertford's perform on this occasion only; of all which more hereafter.

1592. Dec. 26 (St. John's Night) [Eve].—A play by L. Strange's men.

1592. Dec. 27 (St. John's day).—A play by Pembroke's men.
Dec. 31 (New Year's Eve). } Plays by L. Strange's men.
1593. Jan. 1 (New Year's Day). }
Jan. 6 (Twelfth Day).—A play by Pembroke's men.

These were performed at Whitehall. L. Strange's men were paid March 7, and Pembroke's March 11 (Chalmers).

This brings us to the Plague year, 1593. But I must note an intercalary performance by the Chapel children.

1592. July 27.—The Queen removed from Greenwich to Nonesuch, at Croydon. In August (before the 21st) she had left Croydon. In the interim Nash's Summer's Last Will was there presented to her. Mr. Collier gave this date rightly. In an edition by Dr. Grosart (aided by Dr. Nicholson and Mr. P. A. Daniel), the date is transferred to the next year (see Nichols, iii. 124, 227), when the Queen was at Windsor. The odd thing about this is that these gentlemen actually refer to Nichols, where the removal of the Queen to Croydon stared them in the face, and base their argument on the non-existence of the Plague in London in 1592, which latter error they could have rectified by

reference to any chronicle of the time. In this play there is an allusion to a performance of some play by the same children in the preceding year. In 1591, on 21st July, the Queen was at Greenwich; on 15th August at Guildford. She must have been at Croydon, which lies on the road between these places, in the interim. The actors must have been the Chapel boys. Paul's have been suggested, but they were inhibited in 1590, and the inhibition was not removed till 1600.

1592. Aug.—A Mask was presented to the Queen at Sir Henry Lee's at Quarendon. Printed in Nichols.

1592. Dec. 2.—The Vice-Chamberlain wrote to the Dons at Cambridge and Oxford desiring that the Students should prepare English comedies to act before her at Xmas, because "her Majesty's own servants [*i.e.*, the general body of London actors, certainly not simply the company called the Queen's men] in this time of infection may not disport her Highness with their wonted and ordinary pastimes." A reply from Cambridge on 4th December alleges want of "practice in this English vein," and the unwillingness of the principal actors to play in English. As this was signed by Dr. Still, the author of Gammer Gurton, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, a further motive than those alleged may be suspected. In fact, the Latin play, Ricardus Tertius, written by Dr. T. Legge, was prepared with Epilogue and prayer for the Queen for this occasion, and they did not want to throw their trouble away. This long play had been performed in 1579 at St. John's College. It took three evenings to get through it. It sadly wants editing by some one acquainted with Latin. In the imprint in the Shakespeare Library there are nearly a thousand errors. My conjecture is confirmed by the fact that Legge, who succeeded as Vice-Chancellor, 16th January 1593, on Still's appointment to the bishopric of Bath and Wells, refers in a letter to Burghley [January 1593] to the offence they had given to the Queen, and states that Cambridge men had been sent to Oxford to note her entertainment there, that they might be better prepared to obey her directions. This was a home-thrust. The plays that had been graciously

received by Her Majesty, 1592, September 24, 26, though in the Cambridge opinion "meanly acted," were Bellum Grammaticale and Rivales (in Latin), the latter being a revival of W. Gager's play acted in June 1583 in Christ Church Hall before Albertus de Alasco by the Christ Church and John's men. If Gager's Latin revamped was graciously received, why not Legge's? (Compare Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," p. 21, and Nichols, iii. 155.)

COURT PERFORMANCES (1584–1593).

Queen's.		Oxford's.
1584, Dec. 26.	Phillyda and Corin.	1584, Dec. 27, Agamemnon and Ulysses.
1585, Jan. 3.	Felix and Felismena.	
1585, Jan. 6.	Five plays in one.	
1585, Feb. 21.	Three plays in one (not shown).	
1585, Feb. 23.	Antic play and Comedy.	

Queen's.	Admiral's.	Hunsdon's.
1586, Feb. 13.	1586, Jan. 6	1586, Jan. 6.
1587–8, 3 plays.	...	

		Paul's.
1588, Dec. 26.	1589, Jan. 5.	1587–8, 1 play.
1589, Feb. 9?	1589, Feb. 9?	1588–9, 3 plays.
1589, Dec. 26.	1589, Dec. 23.	1590, Jan. 1.
1590, Mar. 1.	1590, Mar. 3.	1590, Jan. 4.
1590, Dec. 26.	1590, Dec. 27.	1590, Jan. 6.
1591, Jan. 1.	...	...
1591, Jan. 3.	...	...
1591, Jan. 6.	...	
1591, Feb. 14.	1591, Feb. 16.	
1591, Dec. 26.	...	

		L. Strange's.
Sussex'.	Hertford's.	1591, Dec. 27.
1592, Jan. 2.	1592, Jan. 6.	1591, Dec. 28.
...	...	1592, Jan. 1.
		1592, Jan. 9.

Pembroke's.		
		1592, Feb. 6.
		1592, Feb. 8.
1592, Dec. 27.	...	1592, Dec. 26.
1592, Dec. 31.	...	1593, Jan. 1.
...	...	1593, Jan. 6.

There is no need to separate the boys' and men's companies in this and future tables, as I did in that for 1559–1586. The total number of companies from this point onwards never exceeds what can be contained in five columns. This is due to the disappearance of schoolboy players, and the introduction of Royal patronage, which absorbed several noblemen's companies.

SECTION C.

COMPANIES (1583–1593).

THE children of the Chapel, who disappeared when their play-place was shut up early in 1583, are met with again in 1591, as acting at Croydon, under N. Giles, their master, before the Queen. But although they certainly acted in Marlowe and Nash's Dido before 1594, in the Wars of Cyrus and in Doctor Doddipol, I cannot trace them in any public playing-place between 1583 and 1596. From Nash's Summer's Last Will we learn that in August 1592 Harry Baker, Dick Huntley, Ned and Robert Toy (an adult) were some of this company.

The Paul's boys from 1587 to 1590 were the only children actors. Their master was Tho. Giles. They were inhibited in 1590, and some of their plays were published in 1591, in the address before one of which (Endymion, S. R., 4th October 1591) the printer notices their dissolution.

Men Players.—1. The Queen's men acted at the Theater, 1583 to 1591, December 26. They then evidently broke, for had a company continued under the Queen's own patronage they would certainly have acted at Court the next year. Many of their plays are traceable, as we shall see, to the companies of Lord Strange and the Earl of Sussex in 1592 and 1593. A company under the same name acted in 1593 (probably the mere

débris of the old one), who on May 3 broke finally, and went into the country. Among their actors were Francis Henslow, Hugh Davis, John Town, and Richard Alleyn ("Diary," p. 5). As we shall meet with F. Henslow hereafter as a member or manager of another company (possibly the same as the Derby's men of 1599), there can be no doubt that in the interim he managed a travelling company. Such a company (one Dutton being a principal actor, which identifies it with that formerly called the Queen's), was at Cambridge in September 1592 (Collier, i. 280).

2. In 1585, December, the Earl of Leicester took a company of players with him abroad, among whom were "jesting Will" [Kempe], George Bryan, Thomas Stephen, Thomas King, Thomas Pope, and Robert Person (*i.e.*, Parson); it is interpreted into German in the facsimile given by Cohn by *priester*, just as King is by *König*, and Pope by *Papste*. Cohn reads the word Persten; but if so, whence the interpretation? This "parson" I take to be Robert Greene, who was parson and actor, and abroad in 1586. These men were commended to the King of Denmark by Leicester. In October they had left Denmark for Saxony. In 1587 they were in England, playing at Stratford-on-Avon during their autumn travel, and had been playing publicly in London in January of that year. At Stratford, in my opinion, Shakespeare joined them. In 1588, September 4, Leicester died, and immediately after Edward Alleyn formed a company under Lord Strange's patronage. As Strange's men included Pope, Kempe, Bryan, and Shakespeare, I have no doubt that they were, excluding Greene, substantially the same company as Leicester's men. On 3rd January 1589 Alleyn bought up for this company the share of the playbooks, properties, &c., which had belonged to Richard Jones, Robert Browne, John Alleyn, and, of course, retained his own share. They had all four been members in 1586 of Worcester's company, which by 3rd January 1589 had been dissolved. We find Lord Strange's men in London in 1589, playing at the Crosskeys. But in 1592 they left the Crosskeys for the Rose, on Bankside, then recently built by Henslow

Alleyn's father-in-law. They played there from February 19 to June 22. Then the Plague broke out, and they travelled Again they played there from December 29 to February 1, 1593. The Plague again increased, and they travelled again till 1594.

The composition of this company is so interesting, as being Shakespeare's company, that I give here in greater fulness than it would otherwise deserve an account of the plot of Tarleton's Seven Deadly Sins (second part), preserved at Dulwich and acted by them (as is evident from the names of the actors, which contain none of the Queen's players, and nearly all of Lord Strange's known to us) while they were under Alleyn, *i.e.*, before 1594. As the only play in the Lord Strange's list in Henslow which can be identified with this one is that of the Four Plays in One, which name suits it admirably (there are three sin plays and an induction in the plot), and as this identification so perfectly agrees with the names of the plays acted at Court under Tarleton himself by the Queen's men in 1585, viz., Five Plays in One for the first part (four sin plays and induction), and Three Plays in One (the three other sin plays), I venture to assume 1592, March 6, as the exact date for this performance. I cannot, in any case, be far wrong. In my "Life of Shakespeare" I said about 1594. It must have been after Tarleton's death in 1588, and before Alleyn left the company in 1594, as the plot belonged to him.

I give here a table showing the characters played by each actor in these Four Plays in One. The chief actors in the induction are not named, but it is not difficult to conjecture that Henry 6 was played by Shakespeare, renowned for the "kingly parts" he performed, and Lidgate by "old Hemmings."

That Hemmings was a member of the company in 1593 is known from a precept of the Privy Council, 6th May 1593, quoted in Halliwell's "Illustrations," p. 33. Plays being restrained within the City and its liberties, Lord Strange's players were licensed to play anywhere free from infection outside a circle

round London of seven miles' radius, to be in better readiness for the Queen. The names are given—

1. Edward Allen, servant to the Lord High Admiral.
2. William Kemp.
3. Thomas Pope.
4. John Heminges.
5. Augustine Philipes.
6. George Bryan.

They visited Bristol (in July), Shrewsbury, Chester, and York. Shakespeare is not mentioned, but the list is certainly not a full one, for R. Cowley was with them at Bristol (Collier's "Alleyn," p. 26). It is most likely a list of shareholders, exclusive of "hired men" and boys.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS, PART II.

		Induction.	Envy.	Sloth.	Lechery.
1.	[Will. Shakespeare].	Henry 6.	...	...	...
2.	Rich. Burbadge.	...	Gorboduc.	...	Tereus.
3.	[John Hemings].	Lidgate.	...	...	...
4.	Mr. Aug. Phillips.	...	...	Sardanapalus.	...
5.	[Will. Kempe].	...	...	...	...
6.	Mr. Tho. Pope.	...	...	Arbactus.	...
7.	Mr. Geo. Bryan.	Warwick.	Damasus.	...	...
8.	Harry Condell.	...	Ferrex.	...	Lord.
9.	Will. Sly.	...	Porrex.	...	Lord.
10.	Rich. Cowley.	Lieutenant.	Lord.	{ Giraldus. } { Captain. }	Lord.
B 13.	Sander [Cooke].	...	Videna.	...	Progne.
14.	[Sam Gilburne].	...	...	...	Mercury.
B 19.	Nick [Tooley].	...	Lady.	Pompeia.	...
B 23.	Rob. Gough.	...	...	Aspatia.	...
a.	John Duke.	Pursuivant.	Lord attendant.	Will. Fool.	Lord.
B b.	Rob. Pallant.	Warder.	Lord attendant.	Nicanor.	Philomela.
c.	John Sinkler.	Keeper.	Lord attendant.	Captain.	Julio.
B d.	T. Belt.	Servant.	...	...	Panthea.
e.	John Holland.	Warder.	Lord attendant.	Captain.	...
f.	Tho. Goodale.	...	Lucius.	{ Phronesius. } { Messenger. }	Lord.
g.	Kit [Beeston].	...	Lord attendant.	Captain.	...
h.	Ned [? Allen].	...	...	Rhodope.	...
B i.	Will. [Tawyer].	...	...	...	Itys.

R. Cowley, J. Sinkler, and Vincent were the musicians in Sloth. Kempe probably acted jigs between the plays and at the

end. Alleyn was in his twenty-sixth year (born 1st September 1566), but Rhodope may have been an old woman. It is possible that Ned may be Edmond Shakespeare.

The Seven Sins (mutes) may have been acted by the seven boys (B.). The numbers in Column 1 refer to the positions of the actors in the list prefixed to the First Folio Shakespeare.

Another plot, that of the Deadman's Fortune, which belonged to Dulwich, but was sold at Stevens' sale as his property, has the following characters:—Prologue; Eschines; Urganda; Peasecod; Peasecod's father; Tisiphon (Ctesiphon); Algerius; Laertes; three attendants (Darlowe; Robert Lee, b. Sam); Alcyone, Statira; Validor; Aspida; the pantaloon her husband; Carinus; Prelior; Belvile (Eschines in disguise); the maid Rose; the jailer; Validor's man (b. Sam); a messenger (Burbadge); Euphrodore; satyrs (playing on instruments); King Egereon; the executioner (with his sword and block); officers (with halberds). About thirty characters in all. Prelior and Carinus go mad, Peascod and Pantaloon wear spectacles (cf. As You Like It, "The lean and slippered pantaloon with spectacles on nose"). Among the properties are a prison, ruffs, flaskets of clothes, a chest or trunk.

This play must have been acted when Alleyn and Burbadge were connected with one company, *i.e.*, in 1592 or 1593. B[oy] Sam is probably Samuel Gilburne. Robert Lee, who was a man-actor 1603–1623, was also most likely a boy. Darlowe I take to be a mistake, or a slightly altered stage name, for Marlowe, who at this time was connected with Lord Strange's company. He wrote his Massacre of Paris for them in January 1593.

It will have been noticed that no account of the proceedings of Lord Strange's men between 10th June and December 1592 is contained in "Henslow's Diary." This gap is the only one in which I can insert the following facts (dated as to time of year, but undated as to the year itself), derived from Collier's "Alleyn," pp. 33–36. Lord Strange's players were, at the beginning of a

Long Vacation (10th June, exactly the date of their stopping at the Rose in 1592), restrained from playing there, and ordered to play for three days [*i.e.*, in each week;] at Newington Butts for fear of infection. During the Long Vacation they petitioned the Privy Council to have the restraint removed to avoid their separation, and for the relief of the watermen. The watermen petitioned the Admiral for the reopening of Henslow's house "during such time as others have," as it hath been accustomed. Accordingly, as soon as the Plague deaths fell under forty a week, in December, the reopening was granted as long as the Rose "shall be free from the infection of sickness." An important point is the mention that at Newington Butts "of long time plays have not been used there on working days."

3. The Earl of Oxford's players continued to act at the Curtain till 1588. This is one of my dogmatic statements which has been much opposed. I therefore give the ground for it more fully than I thought necessary in my previous works. In January 1587 the four men companies acting in London were the Queen's, Oxford's, Leicester's, and the Admiral's. Of these, we know that the Queen's acted at the Theater, and the Admiral's within the City. Leicester's, which afterwards became Lord Strange's, surely acted at the Cross Keys. We have left one theatre, the Curtain, and one company to fill it—Oxford's. Of these men we know little. Antony Monday was one of them, both as actor and playwright. The Earl himself wrote plays for them. In 1589 they were succeeded by the Earl of Pembroke's.

4. Admiral Charles Howard's men acted within the City, at some inn-yard at present unknown, 1587–91. During 1592–3 I find no notice of them, but in their place the Earl of Hertford's players appear on one occasion.

As to the Earl of Sussex' men (Henry Ratcliffe's), they probably arose when the Paul's children were inhibited in 1591, and acted at the same play-place in or near Paul's Churchyard.

I add a list of William Somerset, Earl of Worcester's players, 14th January 1586 (28th Eliz.), because, although this company

did not act in London, many of its members afterwards belonged to companies that did :—

1. Robert Browne.
2. James Tunstall [Dunstan].
3. Edward Allen.
4. William Harryson.
5. Thomas Cooke.
6. Richard Johens.
7. Edward Browne.
8. Rychard Andrews.

Thomas Poulton (not a shareholder, apparently).
William Paterson, my L. Herbert's man.

This Earl died 22nd February 1589. The company was dissolved shortly before. I have already noticed that Alleyn bought their playbooks, properties, &c., on 3rd January, and as Alleyn is next met with as the head of Lord Strange's men, there can be little doubt that he did so for Leicester's players, whom these latter succeeded. But Alleyn was the Lord Admiral's man at the same time that he was Lord Strange's, in 1593. Dunstan, Jones, and Alleyn were members of the Admiral's company in 1594. It is therefore certain that part of Worcester's men ultimately joined the Admiral's. I believe, however, that this did not take place immediately, and that this Worcester's company passed at his death under Pembroke's patronage, and was the company abused by Nash in 1589 as having anticked it up and down the country with Delfrigus [Del Phrygio] and the King of the Fairies. Pembroke's men are first heard of in London in 1589; see the Address to Greene's Menaphon. It is certain that great changes took places in Pembroke's company in 1594, as we shall see.

SECTION D.

THEATRES (1586–1593).

THE Rose was built by Henslow in 1591, and opened 19th February 1592, Saturday. It stood on the Bankside, east of Paris Garden and Newington Butts. The occupation of the playhouses of this period can be arranged with almost certainty, thus:—

THEATER.	CURTAIN.	NEAR PAUL'S.	CROSS KEYS.	IN THE CITY.
1586–1593, Queen's.	1586–1588, Oxford's.	1587–1590, Paul's.	1586–1588, Leicester's.	1586–1591, Admiral's.
	1589–1593, Pembroke's.	1591–1592, Sussex'.	1589–1591, L. Strange's.	1591–1592, Hertford's.
			ROSE.	
			1592–1593, L. Strange's.	

SECTION E.

AUTHORS (1586–1593).

THE sections under this head must be regarded simply as connecting-links between this present book and the future one, in which this part of the subject will be fully developed. In fact, I regard all this stage history as chiefly valuable for the foundation it affords for a chronological arrangement of the writings of our great playwrights, and, consequently, for a clear comprehension of their careers and the development of their art. As a merely antiquarian research I have little sympathy with it, and certainly should not have thought it worth the many years' labour this book has cost me. All dates, &c., in brackets must be regarded, till the appearance of my full investigations, as

approximations; or, if the reader pleases, as guesses. I give here a list of the plays now extant (with a few lost ones that seemed worth mention) under the headings of the companies that produced or revived them. Further information as to revivals, &c., will be found below in the abstract of "Henslow's Diary."

POETS AND PLAYS, 1587–1594.

I.—*Leicester's Men*, 1587–1588.

No extant plays of this company are certainly known.

Lord Strange's men, 1589–1594.

Anon	Fair Em [R. Wilson at the Cross Keys].
Peele	[Edward I at the Cross Keys].
Shakespeare . . .	[as coadjutor with other men. See my "Life of Shakespeare"].
Anon.	Titus and Vespasian; 2. Tamar Cam: Tanner of Denmark.
„	1 Henry 6, Talbot scenes; Jealous Comedy [Merry Wives of Windsor; both by Shakespeare]
„	Knack to Know a Knave [Wilson or Peele].
Marlow	Massacre of Paris. [These last 7 plays at the Rose].
Old Queen's plays .	Friar Bacon; Orlando; both by Green. Looking Glass by Green and Lodge; [Jew of Malta by Marlow]; Four plays in one [2. Seven deadly Sins by Tarleton]; Battle of Alcazar by Peele; [1 Jeronymo by Kyd].
	For other non-extant old plays at the Rose, 1592–3, see *infra*, abstract of "Henslow's Diary," p. 95.

II.—*Queen's Men* (1587–1594), *at the Theater*.

Anon.	Clyomon and Clamydes [Wilson, 1584]; Three Ladies of London [Wilson].
Green	Alphonsus; Orlando; Friar Bacon; [Valentine and Orson].
Green and Lodge .	James 4; Looking glass; [Selimus].
Peele	Old Wive's Tale; Battle of Alcazar [Admiral's, 1594]; [Hunting of Cupid].
Marlow	[Jew of Malta].
Kyd	[1 Jeronymo].
R. W[ilson] . . .	Three Lords and Ladies of London.
Anon.	Valentine and Orson; John of Gaunt; Robin Hood [Green].
„	Jack Straw [Peele].

Anon	Salomon and Perseda ; 1 Jeronymo ; Arden of Feversham [Kyd].
„	Famous Victories of Henry 5 ; Seven Deadly Sins [Tarleton].
„	Leir ; True Tragedy of Richard 3 [Peele and Lodge].
„	Troublesome reign of King John [Green, Lodge, and Marlow].
„	[Pedlar's Prophesy, R. Wilson].
„	[1, 2, Henry 6, Marlow, Green, Peele, and Lodge, before introduction of the Talbot scenes in 1 Henry 6].

Chapel Children (1591–4) *at Croydon.*

Nash	Summer's Last Will ; Dido (altered from Marlow).
Anon.	The Wars of Cyrus.

III.—*Paul's Boys* (1586-1590).

Lyly	Midas ; Love's Metamorphosis ; Mother Bombie ; Endymion ; [Woman in the Moon].
Old Chapel plays .	Campaspe ; Sappho and Phao ; Galatea [altered]. All by Lyly.
Anon.	Doctor Doddypol [Query by Peele].

Sussex' Men (1591–1593) *at Rose,* 1594.

Anon.	George a Greene [Green and Lodge] ; Friar Francis ; Titus Andronicus [Query Marlow].
Old Queen's plays .	Leir [Peele and Lodge].
	For other non-extant old plays see under "Henslow's Diary," *infra.*

IV.—*Oxford's Players* (c. 1586).

Anon.	The Weakest goeth to the Wall [Munday] ; George Scanderbeg.

Pembroke's Men (1588–1594).

Marlow	Edward 2.
Anon.	3 Henry 6 ; Edward 3 [Marlow].
	[Hamlet (the old play), Kyd].
	[Hester and Ahasuerus].
	Taming of a Shrew [Query Dekker and Kyd].
Old Sussex play	Titus Andronicus [Marlow].

V.—*Admiral's Men* (1586–1593).

Marlow	1, 2, Tamburlane; Doctor Faustus [with Dekker].
Lodge	Marius and Sylla.
Greene	Orlando.
Anon.	2 Jeronymo [Kyd]; Philippo [Philenzo] and Hippolito; Antonio and Vallea; Dioclesian [Virgin Martyr]. These three plays [by Dekker] were afterwards reformed by Massinger. [The Turkish] Mahomet [and Hiram the Fair Greek, by Peele, perhaps the same as] Love of a Grecian Lady (Grecian Comedy); French Doctor [Jew of Venice by Dekker]; Cutlack; Warlam Chester; Siege of London; Long Meg of Westminster; The Welshman; Fortunatus [by Dekker before the additions]; Times Triumph; and the Witch of Islington. All these were revived at the Rose, 1594–7, and must date before the 1593 plague.

SECTION F.

GENERAL STAGE HISTORY (1586–1593).

In 1586 there were no plays in London, and the players travelled abroad or in the country.

1587. Jan. 25.—A soldier spy of Walsingham's, in a letter of this date (1586, as usual, meaning 1586–7), affords the information that every day in the week players' bills were set up in the City by the Queen's men, Leicester's, Oxford's, the Admiral's, and divers others (*i.e.*, the Paul's boys), so that when the bells toll to the Lecturer (at Paul's church), the trumpets sound to the stages, to the great joy of the wicked faction of Rome. He also says that "the profaning of the Sabbath is redressed, but as bad a custom entertained," which does not appear to me to be decisive as to whether plays were still performed on Sundays or not. They certainly were in the liberties; for in October the inhabitants of Southwark complained of it, "especially in the Clink and the parish of St. Saviour's," *i.e.*, at Paris Garden and Newington Butts, or the Swan. This must also have been the case at the

Theater and Curtain; for the Privy Council's consequent order for preventing this was addressed on 29th October to the magistrates of Surrey and Middlesex. Within the City there seems to have been due observance of the Sabbath, but the bills were set up there by performers within the liberties as well as those inside the walls (Lansdowne MSS. No. 71). Cf. Collier, i. 271.

1587, October 30, S. R. Licensed to John Charlwood, "The only imprinting of all manner of bills for players."

1588. Jan. 16.—The gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented a Mask and a queer kind of comedy to Lord Burghley, in which Cato censor, B.C. 184, is mixed up with Sylla dictator, B.C. 81. I should think, from the list of characters given by Collier, i. 260, from Lansdowne MSS., No. 55, that it must have been very like in construction to Lodge's Marius and Sylla, but that it was not on the subject of Catiline (Cicero, for instance, does not appear in it). It is not worth while to transcribe the list. Bacon (probably in the following year) wrote to Burghley, offering him another Mask from Gray's Inn. It seems that one by the Four Inns of Court combined had been projected, but the project had failed. Collier gives the letter in full, i. 262.

In 1588, November, the Martin Marprelate controversy began. Before August 1589 the subject had been introduced on the stage. Nash, in his Countercuffe to Martin Junior, mentions the blood and humours taken from Martin on the common stage in London (August), and in his Pasquil's Return (October) he tells how Vetus Comedia (*i.e.*, in a Morality) brought forth Divinity with her face scratched by Martin, and poisoned with a vomit to make her cast up her dignities. Lyly, in his Pap with a Hatchet (about September, according to Arber), says that Martin was represented with a cock's comb, ape's face, wolf's belly, and cat's claws; and from a marginal note, "If he be showed at Paul's it will cost you four pence, if at the Theater two pence, if at St. Thomas a Watrings" (the place of execution, close to the Theater) "nothing." The companies who had represented Martin were then the Queen's men at the Theater, and the children of Paul's. Lyly also says other comedies were penned, but not allowed.

But these were not the only companies concerned. On 6th November, Walsingham having no doubt taken order already as to the players in the liberties, the Lord Mayor (Harte) wrote, in answer to a letter of about November 3, that he had ordered the stay of all plays in the City, as his Lordship had requested, in consequence of Mr. Tilney's mislike. The only players Harte could find in the City were Strange's and the Admiral's (he does not mention the boys of Paul's); he had summoned these, and inhibited them. The Admiral's obeyed, but Strange's went to the Cross Keys and played that afternoon. He has committed two of them to the Counter, and prohibited all playing till further orders.

On 12th November the Privy Council wrote three letters (Collier, i. 268), one to the Archbishop of Canterbury, one to the Lord Mayor, and one to the Master of the Revels, ordering that all plays for the future should be licensed by a body of three persons, one nominated by the Mayor, one by the Archbishop, and the third to be the Master of the Revels. They were to strike out everything unfit to be handled in plays in matters of Divinity and State.

Early in 1590 the Paul's boys were suppressed.

Simultaneously with the Marprelate controversy a bitter feud was raging (1589–1592), between Greene and Nash on the one hand, and Marlow, Kyd, and ultimately Shakespeare on the other. It would not be possible to give particulars without entering minutely into the careers of these men. I therefore defer this matter to my future volume. Some part of it has been touched on in my "Life of Shakespeare."

On 25th July 1591 the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor directing the suppression of plays on Sundays (which had again been neglected) and on Thursdays, because it interfered with bear-baiting, which was maintained for Her Majesty's pleasure if occasion require (Chalmers' "Apology," p. 379).

1592. Feb. 19.—The Rose on the Bankside was opened, and within a week the City authorities took advantage of it to request the Archbishop of Canterbury for help to banish players within

the City. He did assist them, and on March 6 they wrote again thanking him therefor ("Athenæum," 23rd January 1869). No plays or play-places in the City are heard of from this date till the opening of Blackfriars in 1597. The number of men's companies in the liberties for the same period is only three.

On 11th June 1592 (Sunday) there was a riot in Southwark by people assembled on pretence of meeting at a play (Collier, i. 271). The Lord Mayor immediately wrote to Lord Burghley about this breach of the Sabbath. I do not find any note how the Surrey justices took this interference of the Mayor with their jurisdiction. In the same year (according to Collier, i. 279) the players were accused in a tract attributed to Jesuit Parsons of having scoffed at the King of Spain and contemned his religion. But this scoffing was probably in 1551, in Edward VI.'s reign, "when the war was impending between the Ottoman power and Spain."

1592.—No Bill of Mortality is extant for this year, but the theatres were closed on account of the Plague from July to December, and Michaelmas term was kept at Hertford (Stow, p. 765).

1593.—The Bill of Mortality is extant, and the deaths from Plague were over forty per week, from 28th April to December 22. The players travelled early in May, and the theatres reopened at Christmas. Michaelmas term was kept at St. Alban's (Camden).

INTERCALATORY SECTION.

ABSTRACT OF "HENSLOW'S DIARY" (1592–1603).

THE extreme importance of this well-known work, and the immense difficulty of using it for purposes of reference, will, I think, justify the space allotted to this abstract, which contains all that is of general utility in the old, pawnbroking, stage-managing, bear-baiting usurer's MS. Collier's edition of this book is a disgrace to English literature, and the Dulwich authorities would do well to have it re-edited by a competent hand, with

careful elision of his numerous forgeries, and with the matter arranged in a serviceable consecution, of course without infringing on the accuracy of the text.

Large portions of this MS. are of no conceivable interest to any one; but the entries of play performances and his payments to authors make the document, as a whole, the most valuable relic of all that we possess concerning the Elizabethan stage. Without it I could not have affiliated the companies, and the resulting clear arrangement of the occupation of the theatres offered in the present treatise could not have been obtained. The abstract here given will be found to contain all that the student can generally require, and if any minute questions of spelling or the like make examination of the complete work desirable, I have been careful to add such references as will ease his labour materially. The arrangement of the tables will, I think, speak for itself.

As this abstract includes matter relating to two sections, and I did not think it good to divide it, I have placed it between Chapters II. and III., but not as a portion of either.

[A.]—*Plays Performed at the Rose,* 1592 *Feb.* 19 *to June* 22, *and Dec.* 29 *to* 1593 *Feb.* 1, *by L. Strange's men.*

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
	1592—			
1	Feb. 19	1593. Jan. 30	7	Friar Bacon [by Greene].
2	Feb. 20	1593. Jan. 20	14	Mulomorco [Peele's Battle of Alcazar].
3	Feb. 21	...	1	Orlando [by Greene].
4	Feb. 23	1592. Mar. 30	3	Spanish Comedy; Don Horatio [1 Jeronymo, by Kyd].
5	Feb. 24	1593. Jan. 29	8	Sir John Mandeville.
6	Feb. 25	1592. May 18	4	Harry of Cornwall.
7	Feb. 26	1593. Feb. 1	13	Jew of Malta [by Marlowe].
8	Feb. 28	...	1	Clorys and Orgasto.
9	Mar. 1	...	1	Pope Joan.
10	Mar. 2	1592. May 29	3	Machiavel.
1 n. e.[1]	Mar. 3	1593. Jan. 31	16	Henry 6 [Part i., with Talbot additions by Shakspeare; old play by Marlowe, Peele, Lodge, Greene].

[1] These letters are an abbreviation for n[ew] e[nterlude], and signify that the play had not been performed before. Plays not so marked are old ones revived.

[A.]—*Plays Performed at the Rose—continued.*

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
11	Mar. 4	1592. June 5	3	Bendo and Ricardo.
12	Mar. 6	...	1	Four plays in one [Seven deadly sins, Part 2, by Tarleton].
13	Mar. 8	1592. June 7	4	Looking glass [for London, by Lodge and Greene].
14	Mar. 9	...	1	Zenobia.
15	Mar. 14	1593. Jan. 22	16	Jeronymo [Part 2, by Kyd].
16	Mar. 21	...	1	Constantine.
17	Mar. 22	1592. Apr. 25	2	Jerusalem.
18	Apr. 6	1592. May 8	2	Brandymer.
...	Apr. 10	1592. June 20	4	Comedy of Jeronymo [Query, 4 or 15? I think 4].
2 n. e.	Apr. 11	1593. Jan. 29	10	Titus and Vespasia[n] [extant in German version].
3 n. e.	Apr. 28	1593. Jan. 19	5	Tamar Cam, Part 2.
4 n. e.	May 23	...	1	Taner of Denmark.
5 n. e.	June 10	1593. Jan. 25	7	Knack to Know a Knave [with Kempe's merriments; Query, by R. Wilson].
6 n. e.	1593—Jan. 5	...	1	Jealious Comedy [Merry Wives of Windsor].
19	Jan. 12	1593. Jan. 23	2	Cosmo.
7 n. e.	Jan. 30	...	1	Tragedy of the Guise [Massacre of Paris, by Marlowe].

[B.]—*Plays [at the Rose]*, 1593 *Dec. 27 to* 1594 *Feb. 6, by the Earl of Sussex' Men.*

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
1	Dec. 27	Jan. 5	2	God speed the plough.
2	Dec. 28	Jan. 11	3	Huon of Bordeaux.
3	Dec. 29	Jan. 22	5	George a Green, Pinner of Wakefield [by Green and Lodge].
4	Dec. 30	Jan. 27	4	Buckingham.
5	Dec. 31	Jan. 16	2	Richard the Confessor.
6	Jan. 4	...	1	William the Conqueror.
7	Jan. 7	Jan. 20	3	Friar Francis.
8	Jan. 9	Jan. 31	3	Abram and Lot.
9	Jan. 12	Jan. 21	2	The fair maid of Italy.
10	Jan. 18	...	1	King Lud.
1 n. e.	Jan. 23	Feb. 6	3	Titus Andronicus [by Marlow?].
11	Feb. 4	...	1	The Jew of Malta [by Marlow; *cf.* Table A.].

[C.]—*Plays* [*at the Rose*], 1594, *Easter* [*Monday*], *April* 1 *to April* 8, *by the Queen's Men and my Lord of Sussex' together.*

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
1	April 1	April 5	2	Friar Bacon [by Greene; *cf.* Table A.].
2	April 2	...	1	The Rangers, Comedy.
3	April 3	April 7	2	Jew of Malta [by Marlow; *cf.* Tables A., B.].
4	April 4	...	1	Fair Maid of Italy [*cf.* Table B.].
5	April 6	April 8	2	King Leir [by Greene and Lodge].

[D.]—*Plays* [*at the Rose*], 1594 *May* 14–16, *by the Admiral's Men.*

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
1	May 14	...	1	Jew of Malta [by Marlow; *cf.* Tables A., B., C.].
2	May 15	...	1	Rangers Comedy [*cf.* Table C.].
3	May 16	...	1	Cutlack.

[E.]—*Plays at Newington* 1594, *June* 3–13, *by Admiral's* [*A.*] *and Chamberlain's* [*Ch.*] *Men.*

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
1	June 3	June 10	2	[Ch.] Hester and Ahasuerus.
2	June 4	June 12	2	[A.] Jew of Malta [by Marlow; *cf.* Tables A., B., C., D.].
3	June 5	June 13	2	[Ch.] Andronicus [by Marlow? *cf.* Table B.].
4	June 6	...	1	[A.] Cutlack [*cf.* Table D.].
1 n. e.	June 8	...	1	[A.] Belin Dun.
5	June 9	...	1	[Ch.] Hamlet [by Kyd].
6	June 11	...	1	[Ch.] The taming of a shrew [by Kyd??].

[F.]—*Plays at the Rose* 1594 *June* 15 *to* 1597 *July* 14, [*by the Admiral's Men*].

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
1	June 15	1597. June 25	24	Belin Dun [*cf.* Table E.].
2	June 17	1594. Sept. 26	10	Cutlack [*cf.* Tables D., E.].
3	June 18	1595. Jan. 19	9	Ranger's Comedy [*cf.* Table C.].
4	June 19	1594. Sept. 25	10	Guise, Massacre of Paris [*cf.* Table A.; by Marlow].
1 n. e.	June 26	1594. Oct. 25	9	Galiaso.
2 [n. e.]	July 9	1594. Oct. 7	12	Philippo and Hypolito [altered by Massinger; by Dekker].
3 n. e.	July 19	1595. Sept. 16	12	2. Godfrey of Bulloigne [Four Prentices by Heywood].
4 n. e.	July 30	...	1	Merchant of Emden.
5 n. e.	Aug. 11	1595. May 14	12	Tasso's Melancholy [Tasso died 25th April 1595].
5	Aug. 14	1595. Feb. 5	8	Mahomet.
6 n. e.	Aug. 25	1595. May 8	11	Venetion Comedy.
6	Aug. 28	1595. Nov. 12	15	Tamberlaine [by Marlow].
7 n. e.	Sept. 17	1594. Nov. 9	4	Palamon and Arcite.
8 n. e.	Sept. 24	1594. Oct. 24	2	Love of an English Lady. Venetian Comedy.
7	Sept. 30	1597. Jan. 5	23	Doctor Faustus [by Marlow and Dekker].
8	Oct. 4	1595. Oct. 9	12	Love of a Grecian Lady; Grecian Comedy.
9	Oct. 18	1596. Nov. 9	13	French Doctor [Dekker's Jew of Venice].
9 n. e.	Oct. 22.	1596. Nov. 3	21	Knack to know an honest man [extant].
10 n. e.	Nov. 8	1595. June 25	8	1. Cesar and Pompey [foundation of Chapman's].
10	Nov. 16	1594. Nov. 22	2	Dioclesian [altered to Virgin Martyr by Massinger. By Dekker].
11	Nov. 30	1595. June 16	7	Warlam, Chester.
11 n. e.	Dec. 2	1597. July 10	31	Wise man of West Chester.
12 n. e.	Dec. 14	1595. Jan. 17	3	Set at Maw.
12	Dec. 19	1595. Nov. 13	7	2. Tamberlane [by Marlow].
13	Dec. 26	1596. July 6	12	Siege of London [Qy., a new play].
...	1595	...	...	"Velya for" on 4th Jan.
13 n. e.	Feb. 11	1595. June 24	6	French Comedy.
14 1	Feb. 14	1597. Jan. 28	16	Long Meg of Westminster [1 = n. e., new].
15 n. e.	Feb. 21	...	1	The Mack.
16 n. e.	Mar. 5	1595. May 9	3	Seleo [Cœlo] et Olympo [Qy., Heywood's Golden Age].

Ash Wednesday 1595 fell on 5th March. Plays during Lent

appear to have been stopped on March 14. The last performance before Easter Monday, 21st April.

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
17 n. e.	May 7	1595. Dec. 18	10	1. Hercules [Heywood's Silver Age].
...	[May 18	...	...	Galfrido and Bernardo is a forged entry].
18 n. e.	May 23	1595. Nov. 25	8	2. Hercules [Heywood's Brazen Age].
19 n. e.	June 3	1596. Dec. 31	22	Seven Days of the Week.
20 n. e.	June 18	1595. June 26	2	2. Cæsar.
21 [n. e.]	June 20	1595. Oct. 26	3	Antonio and Valia [by Dekker; altered by Massinger].
	There were no performances between 26th June and 25th Aug.			
22 n. e.	Aug. 29	1596. July 9	14	Longshank [Query, altered from Peele's Edward 1].
14	Sept. 4	1596. Feb. 18	4	Olimpio and "Hengenyo" [Query, = 16 n. e.].
23 n. e.	Sept. 5	1596. June 24	16	Crack me this nut.
24 n. e.	Sept. 17	1596. Apr. 27	11	New World's tragedy.
25 n. e.	Oct. 2	1595. Nov. 10	6	Disguises.
26 n. e.	Oct. 15	1596. May 1	9	Wonder of a Woman.
27 n. e.	Oct. 28	1596. Apr. 12	6	Barnardo and Fiametta.
28 n. e.	Nov. 14	1596. Nov. 27	9	Toy to please my lady [Chaste Ladies].
29 n. e.	Nov. 28	1596. July 15	13	Harry 5.
15	Nov. 29	...	1	Welshman.
	1596—			
30 n. e.	Jan. 3	1596. Nov. 10	14	Chinon of England.
31 n. e.	Jan. 16	1596. July 13	12	Pythagoras.
32 n. e.	Jan. 22	1596. Jan. 26	2	2. [Seven Days of the] Week.
33 [n. e.]	Feb. 3	1596. May 24	6	1. Fortunatus [by Dekker].
34 n. e.	Feb. 12	1597. Apr. 1	21	Blind Beggar of Alexandria [by Chapman].
	Henslow dates Shrove Monday and Tuesday as Feb. 22, 23. They should be Feb. 23. 24. There were no performances between 27th [28th] Feb. and 12th April, Easter Monday.			
35 n. e.	Apr. 29	1596. May 20	3	Julian Apostata.
36 n. e.	May 6	1596. Nov. 13	10	[1.] Tamar Cham.
37 n. e.	June 23	1596. July 16	3	Troy [Heywood's Iron Age].
38 n. e.	July 1	...	1	Paradox.
39 n. e.	July 18	...	1	Tinker of Totness.

There were no performances between 18th July and 27th October. On 37th October and 25th November Henslow heads his accounts as with my "Lord Admiral's" men. A comparison of the plays performed before and after these headings proves

abundantly that there was no change of company, and consequently that the Chamberlain's men did not act for him between 14th June 1594 and 18th July 1596. Had they done so, some of Shakespeare's plays would have been found in these lists, *e.g.*, Richard 2, John, Comedy of Errors, Midsummer Night's Dream, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Romeo and Juliet.

Reference No.	First Performance.	Last Performance.	Number of Performances.	Name of Play [with Additional Observations].
	1596—	1597—		
40 n. e.	Dec. 4	Apr. 2	12	Valteger [Vorteger].
41 n. e.	Dec. 11	June 27	10	Stewtley [Stukely, by Dekker and ? Peele].
42 n. e.	Dec. 19	Mar. 21	8	Nabuchodanozer.
43 n. e.	Dec. 30	July 5	12	That will be shall be.
		N.B.—Henslow dates Christmas Day 1596 as 27th December.		
	1597—			
44 n. e.	Jan. 14	July 15	15	Alexander and Lodowick.
45 n. e.	Jan. 27	May 27	10	Woman hard to please [Query, Heywood's Challenge for Beauty].
	On January 24 a new mode of entry is adopted; Henslow's shares in ground and galleries being, I think, discriminated. The last two columns are shillings and pence, the three preceding for £ *s. d.*			
16	Feb. 3	Feb. 7	2	Osric [Query, Knack to Know a Knave].
	There were no performances between 12th February and 3rd March. They played in Lent, Ash Wednesday falling on 9th February and Easter Monday on 28th March. Henslow notes the early recommencing. It was unusual.			
46 n. e.	Mar. 19	Apr. 23	5	Guido.
47 n. e.	Apr. 7	July 27	10	Five plays in one [Heywood's 2. Iron Age].
17	Apr. 13	...	1	Time's Triumph [1] [Heywood's Jupiter and Io].
7	...	...	...	Faustus.
48 n. e.	Apr. 18	July 16	11	French Comedy.
49 n. e.	Apr. 29	June 13	7	Uter Pendragon.
50 n. e.	May 11	July 13	11	Comedy of Humors [Chapman's Humorous Day's Mirth].
51 n. e.	May 26	July 1	6	Harry 1, life and death.
52 n. e.	June 3	July 4	4	Frederick and Basilea [plot extant].
...	June 22	...	1	Hengist [same as 40 n. e.; Middleton's Mayor of Quinborough, which is called Hengist in extant MS.].
53 n. e.	June 30	July 9	3	Life and death of Martin Swart.
18	July 14	July 28	2	Witch of Islington.
	No performances between 28th July and 11th October, when "began my lord Admiral's and my lord of Pembroke's men to play at my house."			

[1] The only instance known of a short piece played before the principal play at this early date.

Between October 11 and November 5 the Admiral's men acted Jeronymo, October 11; Humors; Faustus before October 19; and Humors again, November 4. Pembroke's men acted Hardic[an]ute between October 19 and 31; Friar Spendleton, a new play, October 31; Burbon, November 2; Knewtus [Hardicanute?], November 3; and Spendleton again, November 4. No further entries of this kind occur, except p. 181, when Lord Pembroke's men began to play at the Rose in 1600. On October 28 they played Like unto Like [Chettle and Heywood's Hoffman], and on October 29, Roderick [Query, Chettle's Danish Tragedy, founded on the death of Hoffman's father].

It is evident, by comparing the accounts (see especially pp. 102, 103), that out of Pembroke's men and the Admiral's a new company was formed, which was called the Admiral's. Accounts were made up to March 8 [4], pp. 120, 276, and on 13th March a new one was begun. The "commission" of the company was changed in 1597, probably in December, p. 107. But that Pembroke's men ceased on 5th November, as a body, to act at the Rose in partnership with the Admiral's there can be no doubt. The last mentions of them at this period are on pp. 103, 104, October 23 and November 5, and both these entries are repeated, pp. 115, 116, to the Admiral's men only. The Admiral's men alone are mentioned, December 1, p. 105. Still more decisive is the unusual payment for three weeks (October 11–30) to the Master of the Revels. This was clearly to commence a new account on Monday, 31st October, and any one familiar with Henslow's blundering will see that the last six plays on p. 91 were consecutive performances, 31st October to 5th November, and that during this week only did Pembroke's men perform with the Admiral's. Henslow's October 31 should be November 1.

At this point there occurs an important change in the character of the entries. Until now Henslow has noted the name of the play and his own share of the money taken at the doors. Henceforward his dealings of this kind with the companies cease, and we find in their place a series of entries of payments to

authors, property-makers, and the like, the money being advanced by Henslow on the company's behalf, and repaid by them on the "easy terms" system, at their convenience. He also advanced cash to individual actors and authors, both as money-lender and pawnbroker. These latter items are intercalated, without systematic arrangement, on any pages that happened to be unwritten on. The main accounts are fairly consecutive.

[G.]—*Henslow's Disbursements for Admiral's and Pembroke's Men*, 1597.

Dates	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
1597. Oct. 21 [23]	1 o. bogt.[1]	2	0	0	...	Cobler [of Queenhithe].
Nov. 5	2 o. bogt.		10	0	Haughton	Book.
For the Admiral's Men [see p. 107, on "changing our commission"].						
Nov. 26	...	4	0	0	Properties	Branhowlte.
Dec. 1, 8, 10	...	2	11	7	,,	Alice Pierce.
Dec. 3	1 part	1	0	0	Jonson	Plot of play to be dd. at Xmas.
Dec. 12	...		6	8	...	2 jigs by 2 young men.
Dec. 22, 28; Jan. 3	2 full	6	0	0	Mon., Dray.	Mother Redcap.
1598. Jan. 5	...	3	14	0	Properties	Dido and Eneas.
Jan. 8, 15	3 full	5	0	0	Dekker	Phaetor [Sun's Darling].
Jan. 8	...	1	10	0	...	Rehearsing Dido.
...	...		9	0	14s., less 7s.	Balance on licensing 2 books.
Jan. 26, 28	...	5	0	0	Properties	Phaeton.
Feb. 4	...	2	0	0	...	To discharge Dek. from the Counter.
Feb. 15	4 full	5	0	0	Monday	1 Robin Hood.
Feb. 18	5 part	1	0	0	Haughton	Woman will have her will.
Feb. 20, 25, 28; Mar. 8	6 full	4	15	0	Mon., Chet.	2 Robin H.: Downfal of E. Huntingdon.
Feb. 22	...	1	0	0	...	Miller: bought of R. Lee.
Mar. 1	7 full	5	0	0	Dekker	Triplicity (Triangle) of Cuckolds.
1597. Dec. 1	Recd. 1	47	6	3	Debt of £46, 7s. 3d. acknowledged by the Company.	
1598. Mar. 10–13	Inventory of properties taken preparatory to new account, p. 272.					
Mar. 13	8 part	2	0	0	Chet., Dray.	Welshman['s prize, Qy., =9].
...	9 full	4	5	0	Cht., Dek., Dra.	Famous wars of Hen. 1 and Pr. of Wales.
...	...		5	0	...	Reading same at Sun in New Fish St.
...	...		3	0	Carman, when we played at Fleet St., private. Stuff lost.	

[1] o. means "old play;" bogt., "bought;" part, "part payment;" full, "full payment;" altd., "altered."

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
Mar. 25, 30	10 full	6	0	0	Chet., Dek., Dray., Wil.	1 Godwin and 3 sons.
...	...		5	0	...	Good cheer in Fish St.
Mar. 28	...		14	0	...	Licensing [for press] 1, 2 Robin Hood.
...	11 part	2	0	0	Chet,, Dek., Dray., Wil.	Piers of Exton.
Apr. 7, 11	...	2	4	0	Properties	1 Godwin.
Apr. 11, 12	12 full	5	0	0	Hathaway	King Arthur.
Apr. 29; May 2	...	5	6	8	Properties	,,
May ( ), 22	13 full	7	0	0	Chet., Dek., Dray., Wil.	1 Black Batman of the North.
...	5 part	1	0	0	Haughton	See *supra*.
Apr. [May] 6; June 6, 10	14 full	4	0	0	Chet., Dek., Dray., Wil.	2 Godwin.
May 9	...	7	0	0	Properties	... ...
May 16	bogt. of	7	0	0	...	1, 2 Hercules; Phocas; and Pythagoras. Alexander
July 18	M. Slater	1	0	0	...	and Lodowick (delivered 18th July).
May 16, 23; June 10, 15	15 part	4	10	0	Chapman	Will of a woman [Gentleman Usher].
May 30	16 full	4	0	0	Porter	Love prevented.
June 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 23, 24, 26	17 full	6	5	0	Chet., Dray., Mon., Wil.,	Richard Cœur de Lion's funeral. Cht., Wil. in debt; Cht. borrows 10s., owes 30s.
June 13, 14	...	8	0	0	Properties	1 Black Batman.
June 26	...	5	0	0	,,	2 Godwin.
June 26; July 8, 13, 14	18 full	6	0	0	Chet., Wils.	2 Black Batman.
June 31; July 9, 10	19 full	6	0	0	Dek., Dra., Wil.	Madman's Morris.
July 14	20 part	5	0	0	Chettle	A woman tragedy. To be dd. by 28th.
July 14	...	0	5	0	Lent Borne to give painter in earnest for his picture.	
July 16	...	2	0	0	Properties	Hercules.
July 17, 26, 27, 18 [28]	21 full	6	10	0	Dek., Dra., Wil.	Hannibal and Hermes; [1] Worse feared than hurt.
July 19	22 full	5	0	0	Hath., Mond.	Valentine and Orson.
July 24	...	1	1	0	...	Licensing 3 books.
July 25, 28	...	6	6	8	Properties	Madman's Morris.
July 28	23 part	0	10	0	Dekker	Piers of Winchester.
		123	10	4	[Henslow gives £120 15 4].	
July 30; Aug. 8; Sept. 9, 16	24 full	3	14	0	Day, Chet.	[1] Brute with first finding of the Bath.
Oct. 12, 22	25 full	6	0	0	Chettle	[2] Brute [Sept. 16, Chet. owes £8 9 0; Oct. 22, owes £9 9 0, p. 150, hence the small entry, £3 14 0; in Nov. he borrowed 18s. 4d. "to arrest one with L. Leicester"].
Aug. 8, 10	23 full	5	0	0	Dek., Dra., Wil.	Piers of Winchester.

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
Aug. 9	...	0	10	0	Monday	Comedy [Robin Hood] for the Court.
Aug. 18	24 full	6	0	0	Cht., Jon., Por.	Hot Anger Soon cold.
Aug. 19, 24	25 full	6	0	0	Dek., Mon., Wil.	Chance Medley.
Aug. 21, 22, 24, 25	...	17	5	0	Properties	Vayvode.
Aug. 21, 26, 29	26 part	1	5	0	Chet., Wils.	Catiline's Conspiracy.
Aug. 29	27 altd.	1	0	0	Chettle	Vayvode [Query, same as 20].
Jan. 21 (1598)	27 o.	2	0	0	Vayvode	Bought of Allen [in Aug., paid Jan.].
Aug. 30 [Sept.] 4	28 full	5	0	0	Dek., Dray.	[2] Worse afraid than hurt.
Sept. 19	...	1	15	0	...	Agreement with Langley, mercer.
Sept. 23, 28, 29, Oct. 12	...	29	2	0	Properties	Piers of Winchester.
Sept. 29	29 full	6	0	0	Dek., Dray.	1 Civil Wars in France.
Sept. 31 [*sic*], Oct. 12	30 full	4	0	0	Chapman	Fountain of New Fashions [M. d'Olive].
Oct. 23	30 and 1	3	0	0	,,	Play and 2 acts on Jonson's plot [Mortimer].
Sept. 28, Oct. 1	...	5	0	0	Properties	...
Oct. 3	o. bogt.	3	0	0	Rankens	Mulmutius Dunwallow.
Oct. 4, Nov. 2	...	31	10	0	Properties	One cloak, £19 0 0.
Oct. 8, 11	...	10	0	0	...	1. Civil Wars in France.
Oct. 16, 20	31 full	6	0	0	Dek., Dray.	Connan, Prince of Cornwall.
Nov. 3	32 full	6	0	0	Dek., Dray.	2. Civil Wars in France.
Nov. 10	...	2	0	0	Sackbut	Of [Query for] Mark Antony.
Nov. 8, 13, 14	...	17	0	0	Properties	Fountain of New Fashions.
Nov. 15	...	1	0	0	...	Lent Hazlett [the tumbler].
Nov. 4	...	2	0	0	Recd. by the company at Cranwigge's challenge.	
Nov. 18, Dec. 30	33 full	6	0	0	Dek., Dray.	3 Civil Wars in France.
Nov. 18	4	0	10	0	Chettle	Mending 1 Robin Hood.
Nov. 19, 24	...	20	0	0	Properties	2 Civil Wars in France.
Nov. 25, 28	34 part	1	10	0	Chettle	'Tis no deceit to deceive the deceiver.
On Nov. 25, "for mending of Robin Hood for the Court" was interlined [Query, when and by whom?].						
Nov. 27, 28	...	6	8	0	Properties	...
Dec. 1	lent	0	10	0	Chapman	Company owes £88 10 0 here.
Dec. 6, Jan. 26	35 full	5	0	0	Heywood	War without Blows and Love without Suit (Strife) [Thracian Wonder].
Dec. 12	...	1	4	0	Giant's coats	Brute.
Dec. 22	...	2	0	0	Base viol, &c.	...
Dec. 22, Feb. 12	36 full	7	0	0	Porter	2 Two Angry Women of Abingdon.
1599. Jan. 4, 8	37 full	6	0	0	Chapman	Tragedy.
Jan. 17	...	1	10	0	Chettle	Charges in the Marshalsey.
Jan. 20	38 part	3	0	0	Drayton	William Longbeard.[1]
Jan. 20	39 part	3	0	0	Dekker	First introduction of the Civil Wars in France.

[1] P. 99, Drayton's receipt, 21st January 1598–9, for £2 out of £6 for William *Longsword* shows that Longbeard is a mistake.

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £ s. d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
Jan. 22; Feb. 13	40 part	4 0 0	Chapman	The World runs on Wheels; All Fools but the Fool [see 2nd June].
Jan. 26, 31; Feb. 1, 12	...	18 5 0	properties	[2] Two angry women of Abingdon.
Jan. 30	...	3 10 0	Dekker's discharge from Chamb. men's arrest.	
Jan. 17	...	1 0 0	Porter	a loan.
Feb. 10, 12	41 full	5 0 0	Heywood	Joan as good as my Lady.
Feb. 10	42 full	5 10 0	Anon	Friar Fox and Gilian of Brentford.
Feb. 16, 27	43 full	3 10 0	Chettle £6 in all	Troy's Revenge with T. of Polyphemus. 50s. being struck off his debt.
Feb. 28	44 part	2 0 0	Porter	2 Merry Women of Abingdon. Engages to write only for Henslow.
Mar. 8, 18, 22	...	1 8 0	licenses	6 plays; Brute Greenshield; 4 Kings.
Mar. 4, 22	45 full	6 0 0	Chet., Por.	The Spencers.
Mar. 27	...	0 5 0	Chettle	a loan.
Mar. 31	...	5 0 0	properties	Alexander and Lodowick.
Apr. 7	...	1 0 0	Porter	a loan.
Apr. 7, 16	46 part	4 0 0	Chet., Dek.	Troilus and Cressida [see below].
Apr. 7	...	0 10 0	Towne and R. Allen	To go to Court on Easter Eve [10th].
Apr. 9, 11, 14, 16	...	30 10 0	properties	The Spencers.
Apr. 17	...	1 10 0	Edward, my lord's page	a loan.

The entries from 17th April to 26th May have been cut out of the "Diary"; but from other pages I am enabled to restore these following:—

...	47 full	...	Chettle	Sir Placidas, p. 150.
May 2	...	1 0 0	Chet., Dek.	To discharge Chet. from Ingram's arrest.
May 2	48	...	Dekker	Orestes Fures [furious].

I also take advantage of this break to insert a curious bit of inductive stage history. Somewhere in the missing pages, and therefore before 26th May, the completion of No. 26, Troylus and Cressida, was entered. Some years before, Shakespeare, in conjunction with another author, had written a play on this subject, which was acted by the Chamberlain's men, and probably was still on the stage in 1599; for in 1603, February 7, an attempt was made to publish it "as it is acted by my L. Chamberlain's men," but Roberts did not "get sufficient authority for it," and it remained unpublished. That this was not the

play as we now have it I will show presently. Heywood, in his Iron Age, acted 1597, also treated the same matter. In 1599, January 30, Dekker had, for some cause unknown, been arrested at the instance of Shakespeare's company; and on May 2, Chettle, in some matter in which Dekker was also concerned, had been arrested too. Immediately on this difference between them and the Chamberlain's men followed their play on Troilus. Meanwhile Histriomastix was acted, written evidently by Marston for Derby's men. I assigned this play to Pembroke's men in my "Life of Shakespeare" conjecturally, but the proof is absolute that this was an error. The conclusion, in which the Queen's presence is assumed, shows that it was acted at Court, and the allusion in it to the expected Spanish invasion, together with Jonson's reference to it in Every Man out of his Humour, fix its date in 1599. The companies who acted at Court at the close of that year were: (1) the Chamberlain's, by whom Jonson's play was performed, but of course not Histriomastix, which is satirised therein; (2) the Admiral's, who acted Fortunatus on December 27 and the Shoemaker's Holiday on January 1, both by Dekker. The only other company who presented a play this Christmas was Derby's, and they must therefore have acted Histriomastix. This play was originally, as performed in public, directed against Pembroke's men and their poet Posthaste, the ballad-mongering politician Antony Monday; but in the Court version, into the middle of their play of The Prodigal Child, is thrust most awkwardly a new play of Troilus and Cressida, with its allusion to Shakespeare. In my future work I shall trace the Jonson, Marston, Dekker, Shakespeare quarrel to these plays. Here I need only point out that in 1601 Dekker wrote Satiromastix, and shortly after Shakespeare revised his Troilus into the shape in which it has reached us, with its allusion to Dekker "Thersites' mastic tooth." But this play was not acted. It is expressly stated in the Address to the 1609 edition that it had not been "staled with the stage." Mr. Halliwell, in his "Life of Shakespeare," stated that this address was cancelled and a new title-page issued with the words "as it was acted by the King's servants" inserted. In

the Cambridge "Shakespeare" it is shown that the converse is the truth. The title stating that the play was acted was withdrawn, and the title-page with the address inserted "on a new half-sheet with a new signature." I may add that the exact correspondence of the title on p. 3 (omitting "famous") with the title-page of the "as it was acted" copy also shows that this was the original issue. I extremely regret that I should have trusted any statement of Mr. Halliwell, and repeated it without further confirmation in my own "Life of Shakespeare." I can only plead that this is the only time I have done so, and I will not do it again.

We shall see presently that Henslow made payments to the Master of the Revels for licensing plays, and it has always been supposed that this meant licensing for *performance*. The instances are far too few to allow of this interpretation. It meant licensing for the *press* independently of the Stationers' Company, and a comparison of Henslow's entries with the Index at the end of the present work enables me to state what plays were thus licensed. I subjoin a list, as novel as important for this period of stage history:—

1599, Mar.	Brute Greenshield.	
,,	The Four Kings [but is not this the same play as Clyomon?]	
,,	[Two angry women of Abingdon.	These were probably the four "other plays" of Henslow. They were all printed in 1599.
,,	A Humorous day's mirth.	
,,	Alphonsus of Arragon.	
,,	Cyiomon and Clamydes.]	
1599, June 3	Agamemnon [by Dekker and Chettle].	
1599, Dec. 19	[A Shoemaker's Holiday.	Probably Henslow's "two plays," both printed in 1600.
,,	Look about you.]	
1601, Sep. 3	3 Thomas Stroud.	
,,	Remainder of Cardinal Wolsey.	

It is curious that in every instance where Henslow gives a play-name the play is non-extant.

I now return to Henslow's disbursements, premising that the fact of entries on the stolen pages being missing makes some plays appear insufficiently paid for.

[G.]—*Henslow's Disbursements for the Earl of Nottingham's Men*, 1599 *May* 26–1600 *July* 10. [*C. Howard was created Earl of Nottingham, 22nd October* 1597, *but is always called Lord Admiral in the "Diary" up to this date, e.g., 3rd January* 1598, *p.* 117].

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
May 6, June 2, 8, July 5	...	15	12	4	properties	.....
May 26	49 full	4	15	0	Chet., Dek.	Agamemnon.
June 3	49	0	7	0	license	Agamemnon.
June 2, 21, July 2	40 full	4	10	0	Chapman	World runs on wheels; All Fools but the Fool.
July 15	50 bogt.	3	0	0	Dekker	Gentle Craft [Shoemaker's Holiday].
July 17	51 part	2	0	0	Chapman	Pastoral Tragedy.
July 24, Aug. 23, 25	52 part	2	10	0	Chet., Dek.	Stepmother's Tragedy [see 14th Oct.].
Aug. 1	53 full	2	0	0	Dekker	Bear a brain.
Aug. 1	...	1	0	0	Dekker	a loan.
Aug. 10, Sep. 2	54 full	8	0	0	Dek., Jon.	Page of Plymouth.
Aug. 20, 25	55 part	1	10	0	Haughton	Poor Man's Paradise.
Sep. 3, 15, 16, 27	56 part	4	10	0	Chet., Dek., Jon., &c.	Robert 2, King of Scots. Tragedy.
Sep. 12	54		...		properties	Page of Plymouth.
Sep. 28	57 part	2	0	0	Marston	A book [spelled Maxton, Mastone].
Oct. 4	...	0	8	0	properties	Polyphemus.
Oct. 13	bogt.	3	0	0	...	Tristram de Lyons: bought of Downton.
		632	0	0	of which £358 has been paid.	
Oct. 14	52 full	4	0	0	Chettle	Stepmother's tragedy.
Oct. 16	58 full / 59 part	10	0	0	Dray., Hath., Mon., Wil.	1 Sir John Oldcastle.
Nov.	58	0	10	0	...	2 Sir John Oldcastle.
Oct. [16]; Dec. 19, 28, 29	60 part	4	10	0	Chet., Dek., Hau.	gift; at first playing Sir J. O. / Patient Grissel.
Nov. 1	...	0	10	0	Wilson	a loan.
Nov. 1 [8], 14	61 full	5	0	0	Day, Haug.	John Cox of Collumpton.
Nov. 8	62 full	8	0	0	Wilson	2 Henry Richmond.
Nov. 9, 24, 30	63 full	6	0	0	Dekker	The whole history of Fortunatus.
Nov. 10, 27	64 part	1	0	0	Chettle	Tragedy of Orphans.
Nov. 21, 27; Dec. 5, 6	65 full	5	0	0	Day, Haug.	Trag. of Merry: Beech's tragedy.
Nov. 31 [*sic*]	...	10	0	0	properties	.....
Nov. 31	63	1	0	0	Dekker	Altering Fortunatus.
Dec. 12	63	2	0	0	Dekker	New ending of F. for the Court.
Dec. 13, 17	66 part	0	15	0	Chet., Haug.	Arcadian Virgin.
Dec. 19	...	1	5	0	properties	.....
Dec. 19	...	0	14	0	2 licenses	.....
...	59 full	4	0	0	Drayton	2 Sir John Oldcastle.
Dec. 26	60 full	6	0	0	Received by Shaw to pay for Patient Grissel [in full]. This manifestly includes the £4 10s. 0d. advanced in part by Henslow. There is no instance in the "Diary" of more than £8 payment for any play. £6 is the usual price for a new one; £2 for an old one.	
1600, Jan. 10	67 part	2	0	0	Day	Italian Tragedy.
...	68 part	4	0	0	Dray., Hath., Mon., Wil.	Owen Tudor.
Jan. 18, 30	69 part	2	0	0	Dekker	Truth's Supplication to Candlelight.

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
Jan. 19, 26	60	4	5	0	properties	Patient Grissel.
Feb. 6	...	0	6	6	drum	"to go into the country."
Feb. 7	...	1	2	0	2 trumpets	.....
Feb. 9, 10	...	3	10	0	properties	.....
Feb. 9	70 part	1	10	0	Will. Boyle	Jugurtha: advanced to W. Bird for this "new book" by Boyle, who is not otherwise known. "Which, if you dislike I'll repay it back." It was probably never acted. At this date the company "left playing;" yet Henslow's account still runs on.
Feb. 13	71 part	3	0	0	Day, Dek., Hau.	Spanish Moor's Tragedy [Lust's Dominion, or the Lascivious Queen].
Feb. 16; Mar. 10; Apr. 26 [–]	72 full	6	0	0	Chettle	Damon and Pythias.
Mar. 1, 2, 8	73 full	6	0	0	Chet., Day., Dek., Hau.	Seven Wise Masters.
Mar. 12	59	1	10	0	properties	2 Sir John Oldcastle.
Mar. 10	...		10	0	Haughton	"to release him out of the clink."
Mar. 18, 25, 3 [April]	74 full	4	15	0	Haughton	Ferrex and Porrex.
Mar. 18	60		...		printer	"to stay the printing" of Pat. Gr.
...	74	38	0	0	properties	Ferrex and Porrex.
Apr. 2	...	2	0	0	robe for Time	[Dekker's Whore of Babylon].
...	...	4	0	0	properties	.....
Apr. 16, 24	75 part	1	10	0	Haughton	English Fugitives.
Apr. 27	...	2	10	0	to go to Winswarth [Windsor] to the installing.	
[–] May 10, 14	76 full	6	0	0	Chet., Day, Dek.	Golden Ass; Cupid and Psyche.
...	77 part	1	0	0	Chettle	Wooing of Death.
May 6	78 part	0	5	0	Haughton	Devil and his Dame [Grim, the Collier of Croydon]: struck out.
May 16	74, 72	0	7	0	license	Ferrex and Porrex; Damon and Pythias.
May 17	79 full	6	0	0	Haug., Pett	Strange news out of Poland.
May 26	80 full	5	10	0	Chet., Day	Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.
May 27	81 part	0	10	0	Haughton	Indies [see 91].
May 25	79	3	0	0	properties	Strange news out of Poland.
June 3, 14	82 full	5	9	0	Dek., Dray., Hath., Mon.	1 Fair Constance of Rome [but £6 was paid for this play, of which Wilson had xl.s. (not xl.s., as Malone has it). Shaw advanced this, and Henslow did not here repay him. See "Variorum," xxi. 395].
June 5	76	2	0	0	properties	Cupid and Psyche.
...	...	0	4	0	Haughton	a loan.
June 19, 20	83 part	1	10	0	Chet., Day, Hath.	2 Constance of Rome.
July 10	...	11	0	0	Allen	part of debt of £50.
		300	0	0	at this date due to Henslow.	

This company left playing at the Rose at this time—10th July. Pembroke's men succeeded them on 28th October (p. 181). The Fortune was expected to be ready by August 14, but was not.

The final payment to Williams was made 26th November (p. 209); and as on that same day Henslow discharged Bourne (Bird) from the King's Bench (p. 115), where he was imprisoned for "hurting a fellow who brought his wife a letter." This is the most likely date for the beginning of plays at the Fortune. Henslow's next account begins on 14th August, but is merely for properties, &c., until December.

[H.—*Henslow's Disbursements for the Admiral's Men at the Fortune*, 1600 *August*–1603 *May*].

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
Aug. 14, 16, 29 [Sep.], 2, 12	...	14	0	0	properties	... ...
Sep. 6	84	1	0	0	Dekker	The "forteion" Tennis.
Nov. 11	...	4	0	0	Allen	for the company's composition.
[Dec. 3?]	...	1	12	0	Allen	for the first week's play $\frac{1}{11}$th of £17 9s. 0d.
Dec. 14, 22	3	2	0	0	Dekker	altering Phaeton for the Court.
Dec. 20, 27; Jan. 4, 13	85	4	0	0	Haughton	Robin Hood's Pennyworths.
Dec. 20, 23	...	1	19	0	properties	... ...
1601, Jan. 2	3	1	0	0	properties	for Phaeton for the Court.
Jan. 3, 11, 12	86 full	6	0	0	Hat., Rankens	Hannibal and Scipio.
Jan. 23, 26; Feb. 5, 8, 25	87 part	5	2	0	Hath., Rank.	Play "wherein is Scogan and Skelton."
Jan. 29; Feb. 10	88 part	3	10	0	Day, Haug.	2 Blind Beggar of B. G. with the end of Stroud: 2 Tho. Stroud.
Mar. 6	...	1	7	6	Trehern, his wife, and Hayes, Scrivener.	
April 3, 1600–Feb. 15, 1601	...	6	9	0	James Bristo wages. Henslow's boy; 43 weeks.	
		51	19	6	Henslow's total to this place.	
Mar. 8	87 full	0	18	0	...	... ...
Mar. 10 [Apr. 22]; May 5	88 full	2	10	0	...	... ...
Mar. 24; Apr. 4, 11, 16 [20]	89 part	2	3	0	Rank., Hath.	Conquest of Spain by John a Gaunt.
Mar. 31; Apr. 6	90 full	6	0	0	Chettle	All is not gold that glisters.
Apr. 4, 11; May 2, 21; Aug. 5, 11, 26; Sep. 1	91 part	6	15	0	Day, Hau., Smith	Conquest of the West Indies [81].
Apr. 18; May 16, 22	92 full	6	0	0	Chet., Dek.	King Sebastian of Portugal.
Apr. 20, 27	88	2	6	0	properties	2 Stroud.
May 5, 8 [ ]	cf. F.	6	3	4	,,	Blind Beggar of Alexandria.
...	...	0	10	0	boy at Fortune	To get him into the hospital.
May 8, 13	...	10	5	0	properties	... ...
May 19	cf. E.	5	10	0	,,	Jew of Malta.
May 20; June 4, 8	93 full	5	0	0	Haug., Day	Six Yeomen of the West.
May 21; July 18, 25, 30	94 full	6	10	0	Day, Haug.	3 Thomas Stroud.
June 5, 6	...	20	15	7	properties	... ...
June 5, 28; July 14, 17; Aug. 18, 24	95 full	7	0	0	Chettle	1 Cardinal Wolsey: his life. A muddle; 14th July in "full;" June 28 for "altering."

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
June 13; July [24]	96 part	1	10	0	Wadeson	Life of the humorous Earl of Gloster and his conquest of Portugal.
July 1, 2, 3, 4, 6	93	6	7	0	properties	Six Yeomen of the West.
July 3, 10	...	6	12	6	,,	[with large discount of old debt].
July 4, 14; Sep. 31; Nov. 9, 29	97 full	5	0	0	Day, Haug.	Friar Rush and Proud Woman of Antwerp.
...	...	...			Chett., Day	loans of 3s. and 4s.
July 23	...	1	4	0	properties	...
July 30; Sep. 3, 11	98 part	4	0	0	Day, Haug.	2 Thomas Dough.
Aug. 2, 4	cf. F.	3	12	4	properties	Mahomet.
Aug. 3	...	1	0	0	Supper	at Queen's Head.
Aug. 7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18, 20, 21	95	38	17	8	properties	Cardinal Wolsey [and tavern bill].
Aug. 22	cf. F.	2	0	0	...	Mahomet bought of Allen.
Aug. 27; Sep. 1, 3, 10, 23	94	6	16	10	properties	3 Thomas Stroud.
Aug. 29	...	1	16	0	Jury, 16s.; Clerk of Assize, 11s. 8d.; Dinner, 8s. 4d.	
Sep. 3	95	0	10	0	licenses	3 Stroud: Remainder of C. Wolsey.
Sep. 19	cf. F.	2	0	0	bogt. of Allen	Wiseman of Westchester.
Sep. 21	...	3	12	9	...	Venison, &c., at tavern.
Sep. 24	64 part	0	10	0	Chettle	Orphan's Tragedy.
Sep. 25	cf. A.	2	0	0	Jonson	Additions in [2] Jeronymo.
Sep. 31; Oct. 10	...	13	17	9	properties	West Indies.
Oct. 10; Nov. 6, 9, 12	99 full	6	0	0	Chet., Dray., Mon., Smi.	Rising of Cardinal Wolsey.
Oct. 12, 22	100 part	5	0	0	Hath., Hau., Smith	1 Six Clothiers.
Nov. 3, 8, 9, 13, 26	cf. A.	8	2	0	properties	Guise, Massacre of France.
Nov. [3]	101 part	2	0	0	Hath., Hau., Smith	2 Six Clothiers.
Nov. 14; Jan. 6, 7	102 full	6	5	0	Chet., Hath., Smith	Too good to be true; Northern Man.
Nov. 20	cf. F.	2	0	0	bogt. of Allen	Vortiger.
Dec. 4	cf. F.	0	5	0	properties	The Nut.
Dec. 14, 18	cf. F.	1	5	0	,,	Hercules.
Dec. 20, 24	103 full	6	0	0	Bird, Rowley	Judas.
Dec. 21	...	1	10	0	properties	at the Eagle and Child tavern.
Dec. 25	...	0	14	0	Nick's hose	to tumble before the Queen.
Dec. 26	...	0	17	3	...	Reckoning at the Sun.
1602, Jan. 1, 2, 3	103	5	2	6	properties	Judas.
Jan. 6	104 part	3	0	0	[Dek., Row.]	Spanish fig [Spanish Soldier].
Jan. 12	...	0	10	0	Dekker	Prol. and Epil. for Pontius Pilate [Court].
Jan. 16	cf. F.	1	0	0	Dekker	Altering Tasso [Court].
Jan. 18	cf. F.	6	0	0	bogt. of Allen	French Doctor: Massacre of France; Nut.
Jan. [18], 21, 25; Feb. 7	91, 103	4	11	0	properties	Indies [Query, Judas].
Jan. 21	97	0	10	0	Chettle	Mending the proud Woman [Court].
		308	6	4	[£318 16 4], Henslow's total [which differs from the account by some £7], with the £300 old, £608 6 4. I think Henslow added in Williams' £7 3 1, p. 206.	

Henslow's Disbursements for Nottingham's Men at the Fortune, 1602—

Feb. 27	...	1	7	6	Alleyn	balance of gallery money.
Mar. 25	...	3	0	0	Chettle	sealing of his bond to write for us.

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
Apr. 18	105 full	5	0	0	...	Malcolm, King of Scots.
Apr. 21, 27	105	3	10	0	properties	Malcolm.
May 4	106 full	6	0	0	Chet., Smith	Love parts Friendship.
May 4, 23, 28	107 full	5	0	0	Day	Bristol Tragedy.
May 5	108 full	5	0	0	Dek., Mond.	Jephtha.
May 15	95	1	0	0	Chettle	mending 1 Cardinal Wolsey [Life of].
May 16, June 2, 26, 27	109 full	6	0	0	Chettle	Tobias.
May 16, 18, 20, 27, 29, 31; June 2	99	16	16	0	properties	2 Cardinal Wolsey [Rising of].
May [16]	108	0	2	0	tavern	reading Jephtha.
May 22	110	5	0	0	[Dek.], Dray., Mid., Mon., Web.	Cæsar's fall.
May 29	111 full	3	0	0	Dek., Dray., Mid., Mon., Web.	Two harpes [Query, = 110].
May 31	106	2	10	0	properties	Love parts Friendship.
June 8, 12, 25, 27; July 5	108	13	17	0	properties	Jephtha.
June 24	112 full cf. A.	10	0	0	Jonson	Richard Crookback.
July 7	113 part	1	0	0	Chettle	additions to [2] Jeronymo. Danish Tragedy.
July 9; Aug. 26; Sep. 2, 11	114 part	1	10	0	Antony the poet	Widow's charm. [Monday].
July 16	...	1	10	0	properties	Lent Chettle 5s.
July 29	115 bogt.	6	0	0	...	Samson.
July 19, 31	116 part	4	0	0	Dekker	Medicine for a curst wife.
Aug. 8	...	2	0	0	bought of Allen	Philip of Spain.
	cf. F.	2	0	0		Longshanks.
Sep. 8	117 part	2	10	0	Haughton	Cartwright.
Sep. 10	cf. 1	6	18	0	properties	Mortimer.
Sep. 9, 15	118 full	6	0	0	Cht., Robinson	Femelanco.
Sep. [15]	119	1	12	0	properties	Earl of Hertford, new play.
Sep. 27	120 full	7	0	0	Rowley	Joshua.
Oct. 2	cf. F.	2	0	0	bogt of Allen	[1] Tamar Cham.
Oct. 21; Nov. 9	121 full	6	0	0	Middleton	Chester tragedy; Randal Earl of C.
Oct. 22	...	20	0	0	properties	bought of Allen.
Nov. 3; Dec. 4	cf. F.	3	0	0	Dekker	mending Tasso [Court].
Nov. 8, 17	122 full	8	0	0	Day, Hau., Smi.	Merry as may be: for the Court.
Nov. 22	cf. F.	4	0	0	Bird, Rowley	Additions to Faustus.
Dec. 2	123 full	3	0	0	Monday	Set at Tennis.
Dec. 14	cf. A.	0	5	0	Middleton	Prol. and Epil. to Bacon for Court.
Dec. 18	...	8	18	0	Mercer	balance of account.
Dec. 17, 20, 22; Jan. 7	124 part	6	10	0	Chet., Hey.	London Florentine.
Dec. 29	...	...			Chettle	Prol. and Epil. for the Court.
Dec. 29; Jan. 14	125 part	2	5	0	Chet., Hey.	Tragedy. [Hoffman. "Like unto Like" is a forged entry.]
1603, Jan. 13	126 full	5	0	0	Singer	his Voluntary.
Dec. [Feb.] 10	bogt.	2	0	0	...	Four sons of Aymon.
Mar. 1, 7, 12	127 full	6	0	0	Day, Hath.	Boss of Billingsgate.
Mar. 7	bogt.	2	0	0	...	Siege of Dunkirk with Allen the Pirate.
Mar. 7	125 or 128	1	0	0	...	To get Chettle's play out of pawn.
Mar. 12	128 part	1	0	0	Chettle	2 Florentine.
May 5	...	left off playing at the King's coming [a great gap at this point].				
...	...	0	9	0	properties	... ...
1604; before Mar. 14	129 part	5	0	0	Dek., Mid.	[1] Patient Man and Honest Whore.

[I.]—*Henslow's Disbursements for Worcester's Men, at the Rose,* 1602 *August*-1603 *May* 9.

Dates.	Reference, &c.	Amount. £	s.	d.	Authors, &c.	Plays.
1602, Aug. 17; Sep. 7	cf. G.	2	10	0	Dekker	Additions in [2] Oldcastle.
Aug. 18, 19, 21, 22, 25, 27	...	22	18	0	properties	[2] Oldcastle.
Aug. 21	...	0	9	0	supper	at our agreement at the Mermaid.
Aug. 27; Sep. 1, 2, 27	1 full, cf. H.	6	10	0	Dekker	Medecine for a curst wife.
Aug. 28	1	7	14	0	properties	.....
Sep. 4	2 full	6	0	0	Hey., Smith	Albert Galles.
Sep. 3, 4	2	3	13	4	properties	Albert Galles.
Aug. 24; Sep. 7, 8, 9; Jan. 14	3, cf. H.	3	0	0	Chet., Hey.	Tragedy. [Hoffman: "Robin Goodfellow" is a forgery.]
Sep. 12, 19	...	3	12	4	properties	.....
Sep. 20, 30	4 full	6	0	0	Hey., Smith	Marshal Osric [Royal King].
Sep. 20	5	1	0	0	Heywood	Additions of Cutting Dick.
Sep. 21, 25, 30	6	7	13	0	properties	Burone or Berowne.
Oct. 1, 11, 15	7 full	6	0	0	Smith	Two [Three] Brothers.
Oct. 2	cf. H.	2	0	0	...	Tamar Cham bogt. of Allen.
Oct. 3	...	1	0	0	Middleton	Query, is this entry genuine?
Oct. [3]	...	0	1	2	pulleys	to hang Absalom.
Oct. 11	...	0	10	0	Underell	wages.
Oct. 15, 21	8 full	8	0	0	Ct., Dk., Hd., Sm., Web.	1 Lady Jane; 2 Lady Jane [Sir Th. Wyatt].
Oc. 27	9 part	0	5	0	Dekker	
Oct. 15, 22, 23, 26	...	24	3	0	properties	2 Brothers: witch, devil, spirits.
Nov. 2, 23, 26	10 full	7	0	0	Chet., Dek., Hey., Web.	Christmas comes but once a year.
Nov. 2, 3	4	1	9	0	properties	Osric.
Nov. 6, 12	?8	6	13	4	properties	Overthrow of Rebels [? Lady Jane].
Nov. 12	...	0	9	0	Chet., Smith	3s.: 12s. [Query, for 2 Lady Jane].
Nov. 24, 26; Dec. 20	11 full	6	0	0	Day, Hath., Smi. [Web.].	1 Black dog of Newgate.
Nov. 24; Dec. 15; Jan. 7	12 full	6	0	0	Heywood	Blind eats many a fly.
Dec. 6	...	17	0	0	properties	.....
Nov. [Dec.] 9, 18	10	7	17	8	,,	Christmas comes but once a year.
1603, Jan. 1	...	0	10	0	coronets	for the Court.
Jan. 7, 10, 16, 19	13 full	7	0	0	Day, Hat., Smi. [Web.].	Unfortunate General, French History.
Jan. 10, 16	11	4	8	4	properties	1 Black Dog of Newgate.
Jan. 24	13	3	10	0	properties	Unfortunate General.
Jan. 29; Feb. 3	14 full	7	0	0	Day, Hat., Smi. [Web.].	2 Black Dog of Newgate.
Feb. 4, 5, 7; Mar. 7	15	9	5	0	properties	Woman Killed with Kindness.
Feb. 12; Mar. 6	15 full	6	0	0	Heywood	Woman Killed with Kindness.
Feb. 15, 16; Mar. 4	14	7	2	0	properties	2 Black Dog.
Feb. 21, 24, 26	14	2	0	0	the 4 poets	Additions to 2 Black Dog.
Mar. 7, 12	16 full	6	0	0	Smith	Italian tragedy.
Mar. 16	...	8	10	0	Mercer	and for arresting Duke in the Clink.
May 9	17	2	0	0	Chet., Day	play wherein is Shore's Wife.

No plays from March 16 to May 9, when Worcester's men began to play again.

Henslow's Inventory of the Apparel and Properties belonging to the Admiral's Men, 1598 *March* 10, 13.

In this inventory are distinct traces of the following plays. I give the date of production, then the name of the play, then the properties, &c.:—

1594. June 4.—Jew of Malta [Marlow's play revived]. 1 cauderon [cauldron] for the Jew.
June 8.—Belin Dun. Belendon stable.
Aug. 11.—Tasso's Melancholy. Tasso picture; Tasso's robe.
Aug. 14.—Mahomet [Revival of Peele's play of c. 1587]. Old Mahomet's head [*i.e.*, head-dress, not the brazen head in Alphonso. Compare subsequent entries]; four Janisaries' gowns.
Aug. 28.—Tamberlain [Marlow's play of 1587 revived]. Tamberlyne bridle; Tamberlyne's coat with copper lace; Tamberlane's breeches of crimson velvet; 1 cage.
Sept. 30.—Doctor Faustus [revival of Marlow and Dekker's play of 1588]. 1 Dragon in fostes; the city of Rome; 1 pope's mitre.
Dec. 26.—The Siege of London [? Heywood's 1 Edward 4]. 1 wheel and frame in the Siege of London.
1595. Mar. 5.—Cœlo et Olympo [Heywood's Golden Age]. 1 suit for Neptune; Neptune fork and garland.
May 7.—1 Hercules [Heywood's Silver Age]. Ierosses [Iris'] head, and rainbow; Serberosse [Cerberus'] three heads; 1 Caduceus; Mercury's wings.
May 23.—2 Hercules [Heywood's Brazen Age]. 1 Golden Fleece; 1 Boar's head [Meleager story]; Hercolles' limbs; 1 chain of Dragons [for Medea].
Aug. 29.—Longshank. 1 Longshank suit.
Nov. 28.—Harry 5. 1 pair of hose for the Dowlfen [Dauphin]; Harry 5 velvet gown; Harry 5 satin doublet laid with gold lace.
1596. Feb. 3.—1 Fortunatus. 1 tree of golden apples; [Query] 1 Tantalus tree; 3 imperial crowns and one plain crown.
Dec. 4.—Vortiger. 1 pair of hose and a jerkin for Valtiger; Vartemar suit; Valtiger robe of rich taffety.
1597. Mar. 19.—Guido. 1 tomb of Guido; Guido's cloak.
Apr. 13.—[Time's Triumph.] Heywood's Jupiter and Io. Argus' head.
Apr. 29.—Uter Pendragon. Berlin gown and cap.
May 11.—Comedy of Humors [Chapman's Humorous day's mirth]. Verone's son's hose; Labesya's cloak with gold buttons.
1597. Nov. 26.—Branhowlte. Branhowlte's bodice.
Dec. 10.—Alice Pierce. 1 pair of bodice for Alles Pearce.
1598. Jan. 3.—Mother Redcap by Monday and Drayton. 1 sign for Mother Redcap.
Jan. 8.—Dido and Aeneas [Query, Marlow's]. 1 tomb of Dido; Dido's robe; Cupid's bow and quiver.

Jan. 15.—Phaeton by Dekker. 2 leather antic's coats with bases for Fayeton; 1 pair of stairs for Fayeton; 1 hecfor for the play of Faeton the limbs dead [Query, heifer for sacrifice]; Faeton's limbs; Faeton chariot; 1 Fayeton suit.

Feb. 15.—Robin Hood. 1 green gown for Maryan; 6 green coates for Robin Hood; 1 hat for Robin Hood; Robin Hood's suit; the friar's trusse in Robin Hood.

1597–8.—Black Joan. 1 frame for the heading in Black Joan.

If My Lord Caffes jerkin and hose indicate Caiaphas, he was probably a character in the old play of Ponesciones Pillet [Pontius Pilate], for which Dekker wrote a prologue and epilogue, 1602, January 16. But is not Caffes Caphys or Capys one of the unnamed Trojans in Dido? There are other characters which I have failed to trace; Anderson's suit [Anderson is a character in Green's James 4, but I cannot track this play to the Admiral's company]; the Moor's limbs [apparently the Moor in Peele's Battle of Alcazar, an Admiral's play; certainly not the Moor in Titus Andronicus]; Will Somers' suit [possibly in Nash's Summer's Last Will, which Henslow may have purchased from the Chapel children, as he did Dido and Aeneas by Nash and Marlow]; 1 maw gown for the Queen [possibly for the Set at Maw, 1594, December 14]; Eve's bodice; Nabesath suit; a gown for Nembia; 3 pair of canvas hose for asane; 1 Whitcombe's doublet poke; Kent's wooden leg; Perowe's suit which Will Sley ware [a character named Pero occurs in Chapman's Bussy d'Ambois, which may have been refashioned from an Admiral's play; but if so, where is this play mentioned in Henslow?]; 4 Herwood's coats [Query, Hayward's]. Various apparel for Pig [a boy player in 1597] and Dobe [probably another boy player] is also entered; 2 Danes suits [Danish, not Danae's; cf. for Spanish]; 1 pair of Danes hose; 2 Orlates suits, hats, Spanes and gorgets; 1 Cathemer [Query, kerseymere] suit.

Many of these properties were used in several plays, but where the names of the plays are given we are on safe ground. This inventory is valuable as establishing two important conclusions —first, that I am right in assigning the plays in Henslow's list of performances from 1594, June 18, onwards, to the Admiral's

company alone, and not to the Admiral's and Chamberlain's combined; secondly, that it becomes almost impossible to doubt of my identification of Heywood's plays of The four ages with plays given in this same list. Of course, it would be easy to find plays of later date in which such personages as Neptune, Mercury, Iris, &c., appear; but the inventory was made 1598, March 10, and there is certainly no trace in our literature of any play anterior to that date in which the story of the golden fleece was expressed in action; nor is there in Henslow's list any series of plays other than those which I have pointed out into which such a series of mythological characters could have been introduced; nor do we even at later dates meet with any other such plays except Heywood's; but this must stand over for full development until I can treat of Heywood's career as a separate subject.

CHAPTER III.

SECTION A.

INTRODUCTION (1594–1603).

THIS chapter is, I think, the most important in the book. It comprises the time during which Shakespeare produced his comedies and histories. This of itself suffices to give it special importance in the eyes of the general reader, but to the student of dramatic history as a whole it is more especially marked as the period for which we have in "Henslow's Diary" a detailed account of all the plays produced at the Rose and Fortune by the Admiral's company. The immense importance of this document has been never fully recognised, although in some respects it has been exaggerated. Had its substance been incorporated, as it is in the present volume, with the history of the stage, it might have been better understood. One prevailing error has been the assumption that Henslow's was a typical management, and that other companies were conducted in the same manner. This was not so. Henslow was an illiterate moneyed man, by trade a dyer, in practice a pawnbroker; who regarded art as a subject for exploitation, and was alike ignorant of stage management and dramatic literature. Having had the shrewdness to build a theatre on the Bankside exactly when it was wanted, and the good fortune to obtain in Alleyn a son-in-law who supplied his want of technical knowledge, he managed, by a policy well known to the tallymen and money-lenders of the present time, to keep his actors in subservience and his poets in constant need by one simple method, viz., by lending them money and never allowing

their debts to be fully paid off. In this conduct he was largely aided by the great competition among the dramatic poets of this period. The success of Marlow, Greene, and their associates had attracted nearly all the poets, at a time when poets were as plentiful as blackberries, to writing for the theatres. Many of these were men of real genius, and all were poor. Of the previous playwrights, Marlow, Kyd, and Greene had departed, but to fill their places came Chapman, Heywood, Monday, and soon after Jonson, Chettle, Drayton, Haughton, Porter, and others, whose names will be found in the succeeding sections. The only rival company to Henslow's was for some six years the Lord Chamberlain's, but the policy at this company was the exact opposite to that of their rivals. Managed by the housekeepers or principal sharers, whose interest was that of the whole company, and not by an independent employer whose object was to fill his own pocket, they sought to produce plays of lasting interest, which would bear revival and be a perennial source of income. They employed few poets, and paid them well. I have not been able to trace more than three poets at one time in their employment during Elizabeth's reign—Henslow usually occupied twelve—nor more than four new plays produced by them in any one year (say one in two months). Henslow's playwrights averaged one every two weeks. The subsequent history confirms this view. Hardly ever do we find a play passing out of the possession of these men, and if we do it is invariably by some surreptitious procedure; while the plays produced for Henslow were continually rewritten, renamed, and resold to other companies. In fine, the especial value of Henslow's document lies not, as I have seen it asserted, in its showing us what the inner arrangement of Shakespeare's company must also have been, but in setting before us the selfish hand-to-mouth policy on which its principal rivals were guided, and consequently an explanation of their ultimate failure, in spite of the excellence of many of their plays and the genius of their authors. During the earlier half of this period the transference of Shakespeare's company to Shoreditch restored the balance

between the theatres north and south of the Thames, which had for a short time before the Plague inclined southward; but when the Globe was built, and they returned to the Bankside, it became so clear that the needs of North London were unsupplied, that Alleyn's company in the very next year removed to their newly-built theatre, the Fortune, in Golding Lane; Henslow still retaining the Rose in the occupation of inferior companies, so that he had a theatre on each bank; in this imitating the Burbadges, who some three years before had set up the Blackfriars, in which they had a proprietary interest, as well as in the Globe, although they let it out to children, and did not as yet occupy it with their own company of actors.

Another matter of great interest in dramatic history comes within this period. Just as the latter part of the preceding period was marked by the quarrels of Greene and Nash with the Harveys, Martin Marprelate, and the poets who seceded from the Queen's company, so was the end of this period sullied by the three years' war or contention of the companies, of which Jonson's Comical Satires are the kernel. It would be quite unsatisfactory to attempt to treat of this subject fully until I have had an opportunity of displaying in detail the dramatic careers of the combatants. It must suffice to point out now (as it is well known) that Jonson, almost single-handed (for whether Chapman stood by him is only matter of conjecture), had to oppose the united forces of Marston, Dekker, Monday, Daniel, &c., whom he had irritated by his overbearing violence. I have elsewhere stated my opinion as to Shakespeare's impartiality in this matter. I would add here that any criticism of any play bearing as date of production one of the three years 1599 to 1601 which does not take account of this, for the time, stage-absorbing matter must be imperfect and of small utility. Every theatre was engaged in it—Dekker at the Fortune, Marston at Paul's, Monday at the Rose, Shakespeare at the Globe, Jonson at Blackfriars—and it remained a matter of public interest for ten years after. Yet it is ignored in our stage histories.

For my own part, I may say parenthetically that it is to the

liberty of satire exercised on each other by these men that we owe in no small measure the admirable characterisation of the "irregular humorists" depicted by Jonson and Shakespeare, and that no greater boon could be bestowed on dramatic students than the identification of the persons brought on the stage by them. It would be a difficult task, but not impracticable.

Another noticeable epoch in this period is the final practical settlement of the dispute between Court and City, as to allowing of theatres within the City walls, by the opening of the Blackfriars Theatre in 1597. In this instance the City, which had gained its point in 1582, was completely worsted; and after this any attempt to increase the number of play-places in the City itself seems to have been equally opposed by City and Court, while all attempts to get rid of this one proved altogether futile.

With regard to the drama of this time regarded as literature little need be, much might be, said. Romantic comedy in the hands of Shakespeare reached its zenith, the chronicle history was perfected in this period, and with it expired. The outlying instances of Henry 8 and Perkin Warbeck, when carefully examined, will be found to be of quite a different mould, however like in title. Of Jonson's comedy, Aristophanic at this time, and of the masterpieces in comedy of Dekker, Heywood, Marston, and Chapman, a bare mention is sufficient; but it is noticeable that the manner of presentment—with inductions, clowns, who introduced extemporary "gag;" drums, trumpets, and fights at sea; choruses, fireworks on lines, and other expedients for pleasing the groundlings;—is essentially Elizabethan; and whenever found in plays of later date, is either introduced by some author like Wilkins, who had not the wit to move with the times, or in some play that had been reformed from an older one for a revival.

We have also the express testimony of Heywood that the metrical form of plays was greatly influenced by fashion. At the beginning of this time the rhyming play was preferred, but gradually throughout the period it declined with the increasing appreciation on the part of authors and spectators of the capa-

bilities of blank verse, with varying pause and extra-metrical interjection. The old doggerel line of the moral interludes entirely disappeared, and the use of prose was greatly increased, It is this conformance to fashions, as perceptible to the trained ear as those of quatorzains, ballads, and other artificial modes of the present day, that makes the application of one kind of metrical test (such as that of my rhyme-test to Shakespeare) possible; but it must be carefully distinguished from the other kind (such as that which separates Massinger's weak endings from Fletcher's female endings), for that depends not on fashion, but on the personal equation or idiosyncrasy of the individual poet.

SECTION B.

COURT PERFORMANCES (1594–1603).

1594. Dec. 26, 28.—On 15th Mar. 1595 Wil. Kempe, Wil. Shakespeare, and Rich. Burbadge were paid for two comedies shown on St. Stephen's day and Innocent's day last past (at Greenwich, Nichols iii. 253). One of these plays was doubtless Shakespeare's Comedy of Errors, which was also performed at Gray's Inn. The other may have been Richard 3. Mr. Halliwell discovered the entry in the Treasurer's Accounts ("Illustrations," p. 31). These seem to have been day performances.

1595. Dec. 26, 27, 28; 1596. Jan. 6, Feb. 22.—On 21st Dec. 1596 John Hemynge and George Bryan, "servants to the late Lord Chamberlain [Henry Hunsdon] and now servants to the Lord [George] Hunsdon," were paid for 5 plays showed on St. Stephen's day, the Sunday following, Twelfth night, St. John's day, and Shrove Sunday (Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 30).

1596–7.—On 27th Nov. 1597 John Hemings and Thomas Pope were paid for 6 enterludes at Christmas last by the Chamberlain's men.—Chalmers.

1597–8.—On 3rd Dec. 1598 J. Hemings and T. Pope were paid for 4 enterludes at Christmas last by the Chamberlain's men,

and Robert Shaw and Thomas Downton for 2 plays by the Earl of Nottingham's men [C. Howard's, the Admiral].—*Ibid.*

1598. Dec. 26; 1599. Jan. 1, Feb. 20.—On 2nd Oct. 1599 J. Heming and T. Pope were paid for 3 plays by the Chamberlain's servants, shown on St. Stephen's, New Year's, and Shrove Tuesday.—"Revels Accounts."

1599. Dec. 26; 1600. Jan. 6, Feb. 3.—On 17th [Chalmers has it 18th] Feb. 1600 J. Heming was paid for 3 enterludes shown on St. Stephen's, Twelfth Day, and Shrove Sunday.—*Ibid.*

1599. Dec. 27; 1600. Jan. 1.—On 18th Feb. 1600 Robert [Chalmers has it John] Shaw was paid for 2 enterludes shown by the Earl of Nottingham's men on St. John's and New Year's days.—*Ibid.*

1600. Feb. 5.—On 18th Feb. 1600 Robert Browne was paid for a play shown on Shrove Tuesday by the Earl of Derby's servants.

1600. June 16.—There was a great marriage of Lord Herbert and Lady Anne Russel at the Lady Russel's, where the Queen was present and a mask of 8 Muses (by maids of honour, &c.) that came to seek one of their fellows, *i.e.*, the Queen. See Nichols, iii. 498; Collier's account (i. 299) is incorrect.

1600. Dec. 26; 1601. Jan. 6, Feb. 24.—On 31st [Chalmers has it 11th] Mar. 1601 John Hemynges and Richard Cowley were paid for 3 plays shown by the Chamberlain's men on St. Stephen's, Twelfth day, and Shrove Tuesday.—"Revels Accounts."

1600. Dec. 28; 1601. Jan. 6, Feb. 2.—On 31st Mar. 1601 Edward Allen, servant to the L. Admiral, was paid for 3 plays on Innocent's day, Twelfth day [How can this be? Did both companies act "on Twelfth day at night"? Surely not], and Candlemas day.—*Ibid.*

1601. Feb. 22.—On 4th May 1601 Nathaniel Giles was paid for a play shown on Shrove Sunday and for a show on Twelfth day by the Chapel children.—*Ibid.*

1601. Jan. 1.—On 24th June 1601 Edward Piers, master of the Paul's boys, was paid for a play shown on New Year's day. —Chalmers.

1601–2.—No plays shown at Christmas. The offensive acting of Richard 2 put plays out of favour this year.

1602. Dec. 26 [at Whitehall]; 1603. Feb. 2 [at Richmond]. —On 20th April 1603 J. Hemynges and the rest of his company were paid for 2 plays shown by the Chamberlain's men on St. Stephen's day and Candlemas.—"Revel's Accounts."

1602. Dec. 27; 1603. Mar. 6.—On 22nd April 1603 E. Allen and the rest of his company were paid for 3 plays shown by the Admiral's men on St. John's, Shrove Sunday, and —*Ibid.*

1602. Dec. 6 [date right in Nichols, iii. 601; wrong in Collier, i. 300].—The Queen dined at Sir Robert Cecil's new house in the Strand on 6th Dec., when "a pretty dialogue of John Davies twixt a maid, a widow, and a wife" was presented; "but the virgin preferred."—Letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated 26th December, and "Manningham's Diary."

Some of the plays performed at the above-mentioned dates can be identified.

Of the Chamberlain's men's plays some were undoubtedly Shakespeare's; for instance—

2 Henry 4 has an epilogue with an altered ending for Court performance, presented probably 1598–9: others by Jonson;

Every Man out of his Humor was acted at Court 1599–1600.

Of the Admiral's men's plays, we know from "Henslow's Diary" (if the interlineation in the entry 1598, Nov. 25 q.v. be not a modern forgery) that Robin Hood, by Chettle and Monday, was intended to be presented 1598–9; but no payment for such performance appears in the above accounts.

Dekker's Fortunatus was the play presented on 27th December 1599, and his Shoemaker's Holiday (as appears from its title-page) on 1st January 1600. His Phaeton was also presented 1600–1. It seems likely that chiefly plays that had been chosen for the Court were published about this time, so that it would be easy to make a further conjectural list.

The play performed by the Earl of Derby's men 5th February 1600 was almost certainly Histriomastix. See p. 122.

Those by the Admiral's men, 1602–3, were Merry as may be, by Day, Smith, and Haughton, 27th December 1602; Greene's Friar Bacon, with Prologue and Epilogue, by Middleton, on 6th March 1603; and the London Florentine by Heywood and Chettle, who wrote the Prologue and Epilogue for the occasion.

That by the Chapel children on 22nd February 1601 was the Contention between Liberality and Prodigality. This old morality, written in Edward VI.'s time (see the confusion between "queen" and "prince" in iii. 5, v. 4), was acted in 1601 by boys whose "childish years" are alluded to in the Prologue after 4th February 1601 (see v. 5), and therefore could not be the Paul's boys' play of 1st January, but must be the Chapel boys' play of 22nd February. The "show" exhibited by them on 6th January was most likely an abridged version of Cynthia's Revels by Jonson, which comical satire bears evident marks of having been prepared for Court. In spite of its "music and special songs" it does not seem to have pleased, and was only paid for at half the usual rate—£5 instead of £10.

1598. Sept. 17.—In a letter of Chamberlain's to Dudley Carleton of this date he says the Queen removed to Nonesuch on Wednesday [11th September]; and from Henslow, p. 110, we learn that the Admiral's men had to attend their Lord there on 27th September. Compare Nichols, iii. 428.

It is remarkable that, although the Chapel children had been playing in public from 1597 onwards at the Blackfriars theatre, and had before this presented plays to the Queen at Nonesuch in 1591 and 1592, they were not called on to act at Court till 1601; while the Paul's boys, who were inhibited from 1590 to 1600, immediately after their inhibition was removed appear as acting before Her Majesty. The solution of this difficulty must be looked for in the words "since your majesty's last free and general pardon" (p. 127, last line). It is evident that Gyles had in some way offended the Queen in his management of these boys, and, although pardoned, had not been received into favour. The solitary performance by Derby's men is also worthy of special notice.

COURT PERFORMANCES (1594–1603).

Chamberlain's.		
1594, Dec. 26.		
1594, Dec. 28.		
1595, Dec. 26.		
1595, Dec. 27.		
1595, Dec. 28.		
1596, Jan. 6.		
1596, Feb. 22.	Admiral's.	
1596–7, 6 plays.		
1597–8, 4 plays.	1597–8, 2 plays.	
1598, Dec. 26.	...	
1599, Jan. 1.	...	
1599, Feb. 20.	...	
1599, Dec. 26.	1599, Dec. 27.	Derby's.
1600, Jan. 6.	1600, Jan. 1.	
1600, Feb. 3.	...	1600, Feb. 5.
		Paul's.
1600, Dec. 26.	1600, Dec. 28.	
...	...	1601, Jan. 1.
		Chapel.
1601, Jan. 6.	1601, Jan. 6.	1601, Jan. 6.
1601, Feb. 24.	1601, Feb. 2.	1601, Feb. 22.
1601–2. No plays shown at Christmas.		...
1602, Dec. 26.	1602. Dec. 27.	...
1603, Feb. 2.	1603, Mar. 6.	...
...	1603 [Mar. 8].	...

SECTION C.

COMPANIES (1594–1603).

1. The Chapel children, as we have seen, recommenced acting in 1591, but until 1597 there is no trace of their having any fixed place for public performance. On 4th February 1596 (38th Eliz.) Sir Wil. More conveyed to James Burbadge the house in Blackfriars which he made into a theatre. In November the inhabitants petitioned against it ineffectually. In 1597 it was probably opened, and in 1600, September 2, Burbadge let it out

to Evans, "that first set up" these boys, and they acted there during the rest of Elizabeth's reign. Their master in 1600–1 was Nathaniel Giles and from Jonson's First Folio we ascertain the names of the chief of them at the same date.

Cynthia's Revels, 1600.		Poetaster, 1601.
1.	Nathaniel Field.	1.
2.	John Underwood.	2.
3.	Salathiel Pavy.	3.
4.	Robert Baxter.	
	William Ostler.	4.
5.	Thomas Day.	5.
6.	John Frost.	
	Thomas Martin.	6.

The numbers before the names show the players and their order as given by Jonson for Cynthia's Revels, those after them for the Poetaster. I here insert, contrary to my usual practice, a document in full; it was published in the *Athenæum*, 1889, August 10, after the preceding paragraph was written, and was discovered by Mr. James Greenstreet. It is of the greatest interest as affording definite evidence of the exact date of the establishment of the Chapel children at the Blackfriars by a patent granted 1597, July 15, as giving us additional names of members of this company, and as showing the manner in which these boys' companies were kept up. In addition to N. Field and Salathiel [here called Salmon] Pavey, we get the names of—

John Chappell,
John Motteram,
Alvery Trussell,
Philip Pykman,
Thomas Grimes,
Thomas Clifton,

as actors; and we find that Nathaniel Gyles and James Robinson were co-patentees with Evans, who leased the Blackfriars Theatre.

Star Chamber Proceedings, Elizabeth, Bundle C 46, No. 39, Clifton v. Robinson and others.

To the Queenes moste excellent ma^tie^

In all humblenes complayning, sheweth and informeth your moste excellent ma^tie^, your highnes true, loyall and faythfull subiecte Henry Clifton, of Toftres in your highnes countie of Norff', esquire, That wheras your excellent ma^tie^, for the better furnishing of your Chappell Royall w^th^ well singing childeren, by your ma^ties^ letters patents vnder the greate seale of England, bearing date at Westmister the xv^th^ day of July, in the nyne and thirtith yere [1597] of your highnes raigne, aucthorized your highnes servant Nathaniell Gyles, master of the childeren of your highnes said Chapell, by himself, or his deputie, to take such childeren as he or his said deputie should thinke meete, in Cathedrall, collegiate, parish churches or chappells, for your ma^ties^ said better service, But soe yt is, moste excellent Soveraigne, that the said Nathaniell Gyles, confederating himself w^th^ one James Robinson, Henry Evans, & others yet vnto your ma^ties^ said subiecte vnknowne howe [many], by cullour of your ma^ties^ said letters patents & the trust by your highnes therby to him the said Nathaniell Gyles committed, endevouring, conspiring & complotting howe to oppresse diuers of your ma^ties^ humble & faythfull subiects, & therby to make vnto themselves an vnlawfull gayne and benefitt, they the said confederates devysed, conspired & concluded, for theire owne corrupte gayne and lucre, to errecte, sett vpp, furnish and mayntеyne a play house or place in the Blackefryers w^th^in your ma^ties^ Cytie of London, & to the end they might the better furnish theire sayd playes & enterludes w^th^ childeren whome they thought moste fittest to acte & furnish the said playes, they the said confederates abusing the aucthorytie & truste by your highnes to him the sayd Nathaniell Gyles, & his deputie or deputies, by your highnes sayd letters patents given and reposed, hath sithence your ma^ties^ last free & generall pardon, moste wrongfully,

vnduly & vniustly taken diuers & seuerall childeren from diuers & sondry scholes of learning and other places, & apprentices to men of trade from theire masters, noe way fitting for your ma^ties^ service in or for your Chappell Royall, but the childeren have soe taken & employed in acting & furnishing of the sayd playes & enterludes, soe by them complotted & agreed to be erected, furnished & mayneteyned, againste the wills of the said childeren, theire parents, tutours, masters & govenours, and to the noe small greefe & oppressions [of] your ma^ties^ true & fayth-full subiects; amongste w^ch^ nombers, soe by the persons afore-said & theire agents soe vniustlie taken, vsed & employed, they have vnduly taken & soe employed one John Chappell a gramer schole scholler of one M^r^ Spykes schole neere Criplegate, London; John Motteram, a gramer scholler in the free schole at West-mister; Nathan ffield, a scholler of a gramer schole in London, kepte by one M^r^ Monkaster; Alvery Trussell, an apprentice to one Thomas Gyles; one Phillipp Pykman and Thomas Grymes, apprentices to Richard and Georg Chambers; Salmon Pavey, apprentice to one Peerce; being childeren noe way able or fitt for singing, nor by anie the sayd confederates endevoured to be taught to singe, but by them the sayd confederates abusively employed, as aforesayd, only in playes & enterludes; w^th^ w^ch^ theire sayd oppression they not being satisfied, but being thereby encoraged & emboldened, have practized & put in execucion the same theire corrupte & vndue purposes againste your said subiecte; ffor wheras your sayd subiecte having Thomas Clifton, his only sonne & heire, being about the age of thirteene yeres, and having for the better educacion of him, his said sonne, placed him in a gramer schole in Christe church, London, where for a good space he had contynued & bin taught & instructed in the grownds of lerning and the Latin tonge, and your sayd subiecte being resi-dent & dwelling in a howse w^ch^ he had taken in or neere greate S^t^ Bartholomewes, London, where his sonne alsoe lay & had his dyett, & had daylie recourse from thence to the said gramer schole, the same being well knowne to the confederates aforesaid, and they alsoe well knowing that your subiects said sonne had

noe manner of sighte in songe, nor skill in musique, they the said confederates about one yere last past, & since your ma^ties last free & generall pardon, did vnder cullour of theire said aucthoritie, & in abuse of your ma^ties sayd Comission, vnlawfully practize & conspire by theire confederacie aforesaid, vyolentlie & vnlawfully to surprise the sayd Thomas Clifton as he should passe betweene your said subiects howse & the said gramer schole, and him w^th lyke vyolence and force to carry vnto the sayd play howse in the blackfryers aforesayd, and there to sorte him w^th mercynary players & such other childeren as by the abuse aforesaid they had there placed, and by lyke force & vyolence him there to deteyne & compell to exercyse the base trade of a mercynary enterlude player, to his vtter losse of tyme, ruyne & disparagment. And accordingly, about the thirteenth day of December, w^ch was in the xliij^th yere [1600] of your ma^ties moste gracious and happie raigne, the sayd confederates, well knowing that the sayd Thomas Clifton would that day passe betweene your subiects sayd howse and the sayd schole, the sayd James Robinson by the confederacy aforesayd did, about the said thirteenth day of December, in the sayd xliij^th yere of your ma^ties raigne, by the then privity and procurement of the sayd Nathaniell Gyles, Henry Evans and the sayd other vnknowne confederates, & by the confederacie & conspiracie aforesaid, waylay the said Thomas Clifton as he should passe from your said subiects house to the sayd schole, & as the said Thomas Clifton was, about the tyme & day last above said, walking quietly from your subiects sayd howse towards the sayd schole, the said James Robinson.....in a place betweene your subiects said howse & the sayd gramer schole, called Christchurch cloister, the sayd Thomas Clifton w^th greate force & vyolence did seise & surprise, & him w^th lyke force & vyolence did, to the greate terror & hurte of him the sayd Thomas Clifton, hall, pull, dragge & carry awaye to the said playe howse in the blacke fryeres aforesayd, threatening him that yf he, the said Thomas Clifton, would not obey him, the sayd Robinson, that he, the sayd Robinson, would chardge the counstable w^th him, the sayd Thomas Clifton. By w^ch vyolence, threats & terrour, the sayd

James Robinson then brought the sayd Thomas Clifton vnto the said playe howse in the black freres aforesayd, where the sayd Nathaniell Gyles, Henry Evans, & the sayd other confederates, being, by the practize, conspiracie & confederacie aforesayd, redie to receave and entertayne him, according to theire said plott & practize, they the said Nathaniell Gyles, Henry Evans, James Robinson, & other theire sayd confederates, him the sayd Thomas Clifton, as a prisoner, comitted to the said playe howse amongste a companie of lewde & dissolute mercenary players, purposing in that place (& for noe service of your ma^{tie}) to vse & excersize him, the sayd Thomas Clifton, in acting of parts in base playes & enterludes, to the mercinary gayne & pryvat comoditie of them the said Nathaniell Gyles, Henry Evans, James Robinson, & other theire said confederates. Of w^{ch} abuse & oppression of your sayd subiecte & his sayd sonne, your sayd subiecte having notice, he, your sayd subiecte, furthwth repayred vnto the sayd playe howse in the blacke fryers aforesayd, where he fownd the sayd Nathaniell Gyles, James Robinson & Henry Evans, & in theire vyolent custody your subiectes sayd sonne, vnto w^{ch} sayd Nathaniell Gyles, Henry Evans, & James Robinson your sayd subiecte then & there diuers tymes made request to have his sayd sonne released, w^{ch} they the said Nathaniell Gyles, Henry Evans, & James Robinson vtterly & scornefully refused to doe, wherevppon your sayd subiecte then & there affirmed vnto them, that yf he should complayne vnto some of your ma^{ties} moste honourable pryvie councell, they the said confederates would hardly aunswer yt; wherevppon the said Nathaniell Gyles, James Robinson & Henry Evans, in very scornefull manner, willed your sayd subiecte to complayne to whome he would, & they would aunswer yt, and in a moste slighte & scornefull regard of your ma^{ties} service & the dutie they owe therevnto, they then & there said further, that yf the Queene (meaning your highnes) would not beare them furth in that accion, she (meaning lykwyse your highnes) should gett another to execute her comission for them, & then & there vsed diuers other contemptuouse speeches, manifesting a very slight regard in them towards your ma^{ties}

service. And your said subiecte then & there alsoe vsing manie perswasions vnto them, the said Nathaniell Gyles, James Robinson & Henry Evans, to have his said sonne released, aledging therein that yt was not fitt that a gentleman of his sorte should have his sonne & heire (and that his only sonne) to be soe basely vsed, they the sayd Nathaniell Gyles, James Robinson & Henry Evans moste arrogantlie then & there aunswered, that they had aucthoritie sufficient soe to take any noble mans sonne in this land, and did then & there vse theis speeches, that were yt not for the benefitt they made by the sayd play howse, whoe would, should serve the Chappell wth childeren for them. And the said Nathaniell Gyles, Henry Evans & James Robinson then & there, to dispighte & greeve your said subiecte wth an assuraunce that his sayd sonne should be employed in that vyle & base manner of a mercynary player in that place, & in noe other sorte or manner, did then & there deliuer vnto his sayd sonne, in moste scornefull disdaynfull & dispightfull manner, a scrolle of paper, conteyning parte of one of theire said playes or enterludes, & him, the sayd Thomas Clifton, comaunded to learne the same by harte, &, in further greevaunce & dispight of your sayd subiecte, the sayd Nathaniell Gyles & James Robinson deliuered & comitted your subiects sayd sonne vnto the custody of the sayd Henry Evans, wth theis threatening words vnto the sayd Thomas Clifton, that yf he did not obey the sayd Evans, he should be surely whipped. In w^{ch} base restraynt & misvsage the sayd Thomas Clifton, by the practize, conspiracy, confederacie & vyolent dealing of the said Nathaniell Gyles, James Robinson, Henry Evans, & theire sayd other confederates, contynued by the space of about a day & a night, vntill such tyme as by the warrant of the Right honourable S^{r} John ffortescue, knight, one of your ma^{ties} moste honourable privie councell, he was sett at lyberty and freed from the same. All w^{ch} vyolente courses, dispightfull vsage of your subiecte & his sayd sonne, & the base restrainte & ymployment of your subiectes said sonne, and other the misdemeanours & offences aforesayd, have bin to the greate greevaunce, wrong & vexacion of your sayd subiecte & his sayd sonne,

& have byn soe comitted, perpetrated & done, both in abuse of the nobillity of this your highnes realme, and in abuse of your ma^ties^ sayd Comission, and allsoe to the greate oppression & wrong of diuers your ma^ties^ loving & faythfull subiects, and were soe comitted, perpetrated & done sithence your ma^ties^ last free & generall pardon, and contrary to diuers your ma^ties^ lawes, in this your highnes realme established. In tender consideracion whereof, &c.

From other papers also published by Mr. Greenstreet, and given in full farther on, additional particulars are ascertained, which require insertion here in a condensed form.

1597. July 15.—N. Gyles gets his patent for the Chapel children, who no doubt acted under him at Blackfriars.

1600. Sep. 2.—Richard Burbage let the Blackfriars building to H. Evans for 21 years from 1600, Sep. 29, Michaelmas.

1600. Dec.—Evans, Gyles, and Robinson entered on the "violent courses" mentioned in the document already given, in taking up children for their company.

1600. Dec.–1601. Oct. 21.—During this interval, in the xliiith (three-and-fortieth) year of Elizabeth, Evans was censured by the Star Chamber for his unorderly carriage in this matter, and all "assurances made to him concerning the said house or plays" were declared utterly void. The exact date was probably in April, certainly after the production of the Poetaster, and before the entry, S. R., of Cynthia's Revels, May 23. Jonson then left writing for the Chapel children, and returned to Henslow's company. Evans, finding it impracticable to carry on the Blackfriars Theatre with Gyles, &c., sought for new arrangements.

1601. Oct. 21.—Henry Evans let half the profits to Alexander Hawkins on trust for Edward Kirkham, William Rastell, and Thomas Kendall, on condition they should lay out £400, Hawkins being bound to reassign to these three men. This is Kirkham's statement; but Burbage says that the assignment to Hawkins, who, be it noted, was Evans' son-in-law, was absolute,

and that no trust deed existed to his knowledge. The three, according to Kirkham, paid Evans 8s. weekly, and Hawkins also paid Evans £52, 10s. 0d. Why he should do this, if they took the whole benefit, does not appear.

1602. April 20.—In certain articles of agreement (according to E. Paynton's statement (we shall hear more of this gentleman in the next chapter) the above referred to lease was acknowledged to be in the absolute interest and possession of Hawkins, as it no doubt really was. Kirkham was, as Jonson calls him in his "Conversations," "a base fellow, and unworthy of credit."

2. The Paul's boys were not reinstated till 1600. They acted at their own singing-school. Their master was Edward Piers. See Marston's Jack Drum's Entertainment for date. It was acted in 1600, and was probably their first new play.

3. The Queen's men and the Earl of Sussex' appear, on the cessation of the Plague in December 1593, to have anticipated the other companies for a few months in recommencing. There are a few notices of them in "Henslow's Diary" as acting at the Rose until Easter 1594, which I have given above in the intercalatory section. After this they disappear altogether from the London stage. From 1593 onwards only three men's companies were looked on as authorised in the liberties of the City, the Curtain having, in the view taken by the authorities, been replaced by the Fortune in 1600. Nevertheless, for a short time in 1599 it had been occupied by the Earl of Derby's men, who acted at Court 7th February 1600, and we hear of plays there on to 1601. In the next reign we shall find four men's companies fully recognised.

4. Lord Strange's men, on the death of the Earl of Derby (Henry Stanley), being still retained by their former patron, Ferdinando Stanley, acquired the title of the Earl of Derby's men. The only instance of their being mentioned under this name is, I believe, in the title to Titus Andronicus. On 16th April Ferdinando Stanley died, and the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Hunsdon, received them into his service. They are called the Lord "Chamberlain's men" in "Henslow's Diary" as early as

3rd June. From June 3 to June 13 they and the Lord Admiral's men played at Newington Butts, where they performed—

Hester and Ahasuerus.
Titus Andronicus [by ? Marlow].
Hamlet [by Kyd: the old play on which Shakespeare's was founded].
The Taming of a Shrew.

All these, as well as Edward 3 and 2 York and Lancaster, had been obtained from Pembroke's men in April or May. On 8th October 1594 Lord Hunsdon wrote to the Lord Mayor, asking permission for them to play at the Cross Keys, "as they have been accustomed" [*i.e.*, before 1592]. "They will play from 2 P.M. to 4, instead of beginning at 4 or 5, use no drums or trumpets, and be contributory to the parish poor" (Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 31). I do not think they got permission of the Mayor, for we next hear of Hamlet (the old Kyd play) being acted at the Theater shortly before 1596 (Lodge's "Wit's Misery"). On 22nd July Henry Lord Hunsdon died, and his servants passing to his son, were called Lord [George] Hunsdon's servants. George Carey, after the death of William Brooke, Lord Cobham, 5th March 1597, was appointed on 17th April Chamberlain, as his father had been, and the old title of "Chamberlain's servants" was regained.

On 28th July 1597 the Theater was finally closed, and the Curtain temporarily. At All Hallows, November 1, the Chamberlain's men recommenced at the Curtain, where they played the revised Romeo and Juliet (Marston, "Scourge of Villany," iii. 11). Between 28th December 1598 and 20th January 1599 the Burbadges (Richard and Cuthbert, their father, James, having died in 1597) removed the timber, &c., of the Theater to the Bankside. Early in the year they erected the Globe there, and before the close of it Henry 5 and Every Man out of his Humour were there acted. Their company continued to use this house till the closing of the theatres in 1642.

The lists of actors in Jonson's first Folio show the chief actors

of this company before and after their removal from the Curtain to the Globe.

Every Man in his Humour. Curtain, 1598.		Every Man out of his Humour. Globe, 1599.
1	Wil. Shakespeare.	
2	Ric. Burbadge.	1
3	Aug. Phillipps.	3
4	John Hemings.	2
5	Hen. Condell.	4
6	Tho. Pope.	6
7	Wil. Sly.	5
8	Chr. Beeston.	
9	Wil. Kempe.	
10	John Duke.	

The three men who left the company are placed last. Rob. Pallant, who accompanied them, is not named. Shakespeare did not act in the second play. I conjecture that this was on account of the personal satire contained in it. It is noteworthy that Mr. Halliwell, having shown that this company acted at the Curtain (from which the necessary inference is that Jonson, who was actor as well as poet, acted there in his own play), in his "Illustrations," p. 29, quotes Aubrey's perfectly correct statement on the matter with these words: "If any credit may be given to the blundering evidences [*sic*] of Aubrey."

Richard Hoope, William Ferney, William Blackwage, and Rafe Raye occur on p. 7 of "Henslow's Diary" as Chamberlain's men, under date 1595, January to April. These names are not known elsewhere. I do not think they were actors.

1599.—"In the end of the year happened some new jars between the King and the ministers of Edinburgh because of a company of English comedians whom the King had licensed to play within the Burgh" (Spottiswood's "History of the Church of Scotland," p. 457). The ministers, by an Act of Sessions, prohibited attendance at their plays. The King summoned the Sessions before the Council, and ordered them to annul their

Act, which they unwillingly did. There is no reason to conclude that these players were the Chamberlain' men, whose travelling in 1601 is alluded to in Hamlet as if it were quite a new thing for them. Pembroke's men would be much more likely. But after the performance of Richard 2., with his deposition and death, some "40 times in open streets and houses" (Nichols, iii. 552), in February 1601, they naturally fell into disgrace at Court. See my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 143. The Queen herself, as late as 4th August, said, "I am Richard 2: know ye not that?" See Lambard, *apud* Nichols, *loc. cit.* I have no doubt they were inhibited in London, It is clear from the title-page of Hamlet (S. R., 1602, July 26) that they had been travelling to Oxford and Cambridge; and in October 1601 they were at Aberdeen, under Laurence Fletcher, their manager. On 22nd October "Laurence Fletcher, comedian to his Majesty," was admitted burgess of guild of the borough. On the 9th October he and his fellows, "the King's servants," had been rewarded for their comedies and stage plays there. On 17th May 1603 this Laurence Fletcher and his fellows, Shakespeare, Burbadge, &c., were patented as "the King's servants" in London, and yet critics of popular esteem maintain that there is no evidence that either Shakespeare or the Chamberlain's men were ever in Scotland. See Council Registers of Aberdeen, quoted by Knight; and Furness's Macbeth, p. 408 *seq.*, where they are omitted, in a "Variorum" edition! I am "out of all question" that L. Fletcher and W. Shakespeare did visit Scotland, and I will further hazard a guess that "his majesty's special letter," by which they were recommended at Aberdeen, was the identical letter that James wrote to Shakespeare with his own hand, and which, according to the evidence of Sheffield Duke of Buckingham, as quoted in Oldys' MS. on Fuller's Worthies, was at one time in the possession of Sir William Davenant. This is a much more likely date for it than after James's accession to the English crown. For my hypothesis of the original production of Macbeth in 1601, in connexion herewith, see my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 238 *seq.*

5. Pembroke's men continued to act at the Curtain from 1589

to 1597. In 1593, during the Plague, on September 29, a letter from Henslow to Alleyn (Collier's "Alleyn," p. 32) says of them: "They are all at home, and have been these 5 or 6 weeks, for they can not save their charges to travel, as I hear, and were fain to pawn the 'parel" (*i.e.*, their stage dresses). In 1594 they disposed of many of their plays to the Earl of Derby's men [afterwards the Chamberlain's, not the Derby's men of 1600]. These plays have already been mentioned. In 1597, October 11, they began to play with the Admiral's men at the Rose. This conjunction lasted till 1598, March 4 ("Diary," p. 103). A remodelling of the companies then followed, and a comparison of the lists of the Admiral's men before and after shows that Gabriel Spenser, Robert Shaw, Humfrey Jeffes, and Antony Jeffes then left Pembroke's and joined the Admiral's company. They had, previously to coming to the Rose, travelled from July to September 1597, and after this reorganisation they again travelled from 1598 to 1600 (Halliwell, "Life of Shakespeare"). Halliwell is quite wrong in saying that they played Doctor Faustus (p. 317). The playing of the Admiral's men and Pembroke's at the Rose was evidently on different nights, with one notable exception, when they played together the Ages of Heywood; and this uniting of forces was so exceptional that Heywood specially refers to it in his Prefatial Address to the Iron Age. In 1600, October 18–29, they again appear at the Rose under Henslow, and are never again heard of on the London stage.

Humphrey [Jeffes], Gabriel [Spenser], and [John] Sinkler appear in the stage directions of 3 Henry 6. This proves that that play was printed from an acting copy belonging originally to Pembroke's men, and not remodelled, as is usually fancied, by Shakespeare for the Chamberlain's. Jeffes and Spenser never belonged to Shakespeare's company. The so-called first draught (2nd part of York and Lancaster) was an abridged acting copy, probably made for country acting, when they travelled from June to August 1593.

It has been seen under No. 4 that when the Chamberlain's men

left the Curtain for their new theatre, the Globe, certain actors, Kempe, Duke, Beeston, and Pallant, did not go with them. I do not see what these men could have been doing if they did not continue to act as members of Pembroke's company. They were undoubtedly the men satirised along with their poet, Monday, in Histriomastix in 1599, as Sir Oliver Owlet's men :—

"Some up and some down,
There's players in the town ;
You wot well who they be :
The sum doth arise
To three companies,
One, two, three, four make we.
Besides that we travel
With pumps full of gravel
Made all of such running leather,
That once in a week
New masters we seek,
And never can hold together.

—Histriomastix, Sc. 4.

The three authorised companies here alluded to are the Chamberlain's, at the Globe ; the Admiral's, at the Rose ; and Derby's, at the Curtain, who all acted before the Queen at Christmas 1599–1600. The fourth (unauthorised), who had a difficulty in obtaining a patron, was Pembroke's. Sometimes at the Rose, sometimes travelling, they struggled on, till, as the Earl of Worcester's men, they obtained, after the building of the Fortune, a settled position at the Rose, under Henslow. In his "Diary" we find these same five men, together with Richard Perkins, Thomas Blackwood, John Thayer, John Lowin, Dick Syferwest (p. 235), and Catharines [Katherines], as Worcester's men, at the Rose, from 1602, August 17, to 1603, May 9. I may note here that Kempe, during their travels, went abroad in 1601.

No list of these men has come down to us, nor can I, except by conjecture, make out the names of any of them from "Henslow's Diary," in addition to those already mentioned. Francis Henslow (p. 5) went with the Queen's men into the country, 5th May 1593. On 1st June 1596 (p. 8) he was playing with some unnamed but certainly different company, with Will. Smith,

George Attewell, and Robert Nicols. On 15th December 1597, just after the temporary union of Pembroke's men with the Admiral's, he took a house on the Bankside (p. 151), so as to be near the Rose. On 21st September 1600 Duke, afterwards one of Worcester's men, and therefore at this time probably one of Pembroke's, was borrowing money of Henslow (p. 182).

In October 1600 Pembroke's men played at the Rose (p. 181). In an undated entry, which from its position may be assigned to 1600–1, F. Henslow and Savery are met with in connexion about a matter of horse-stealing (p. 192). In another undated entry, which almost certainly belongs to 1604, F. Henslow, old Garland, Simcox, and Savery "played in the Duke's name at their last going out" (p. 214); and on 13th October 1604 the Duke of Lennox wrote to "all Mayors," &c., complaining that they had inhibited his players, and requesting their forbearance (Collier's "Alleyn," p. 69). On 17th March 1605 F. Henslow, with John Garland and Abraham Savery, his fellows, servants to the Duke of Lennox (*ibid.*), enter into a bond with Philip Henslow. I do not think that this company of F. Henslow's can be identified with Pembroke's; there is no apparent link of connexion. If they were identical with any other company known to us, Derby's is more likely, but there is absolutely no evidence that they ever played in London at all. There is one Richard Bradshaw also mentioned ("Diary," p. 182) under dates 1600 December 15, 1601 April 25, as a member of a travelling company, which must, I think, be F. Henslow's.

The mention of Duke in 1600, which is in no way connected with F. Henslow, is of great importance in confirming my view of Worcester's men as a continuation of Pembroke's. It proves that in September he (and therefore probably Beeston, Pallant, and Kempe, who left the Chamberlain's company with him and joined in the "composition" of Worcester's with him 17th August 1602) was in direct connexion with Henslow, and the simultaneous appearance of Pembroke's men at the Rose almost necessarily shows that they then belonged to that company.

6. 1594 May 14–16.—The Admiral's men, who had for

some three years been travelling or playing in some obscure play-place in the City, suddenly came into notice again at the Rose. Alleyn, who had already been "the Admiral's man" while acting with Lord Strange's company, now left it, and henceforth appears as a member of the Admiral's company. From June 3 to 13 these players acted at Newington Butts on days when it was not occupied by the Chamberlain's men. This was probably during some temporary repairs at the Rose, certainly not in consequence of the inhibition with which I formerly connected it, for that was during Ferdinando Stanley's lifetime, and must be placed in 1592. This seems to have proved very unprofitable, the takings being very small; and on June 15 they played again at the Rose. Henslow between the entries for June 13 and June 15 has drawn a line, but has not inserted a new heading. This has led to the erroneous notion that the Chamberlain's men returned with them to the Rose. The entire absence of any play by Shakespeare, or any play traceable to the Chamberlain's company, led me long since to expose this fallacy, but the definite evidence of Lord Hunsdon's letter of October 8, since discovered, has now set the matter at rest for those who investigate with due accuracy. The old error, however, pervades Halliwell's latest work, and will even be found in a well-intentioned but baseless attack on my correctness in Furness's edition of the Merchant of Venice, pp. 285, 324.

In 1600 Alleyn, who in 1597 had ceased to act and became co-manager with Henslow, built the Fortune Theatre in Golding Street. It was expected to be ready in August, but was not till nearly the end of the year. Before October 28 the Admiral's men had left the Rose, and in November ("Diary," p. 173) the "first week's play" there took place. The nearest approach to exact date is furnished by the preceding entry on 11th November, "Lent unto the company to pay to E. Alleyn my son [in law] about their composition, £4." This evidently refers to the pecuniary arrangements between Alleyn and the company on commencing. They continued to act at the Fortune till the end of Elizabeth's reign and after.

The actors in this company are in great part known from the following tables :—

From the Plots of Plays belonging to E. Allen.

Frederick and Basilea [3rd June 1597].		1. Tamar Cham [2nd October 1602].
Characters.	Actors.	Characters.
Sebastian.	Mr. [Edward] Allen.	Tamar Cham.
The King.	Mr. [Edward] Juby.	Pitho, a satyr.
Governor.	Mr. [James] Dunstan.	.....
Myron Hamet.	Mr. [Thomas] Towne.	Persian Shah ; Oracle.
Theodore.	Mr. Martin [Slaughter].	.....
Heraclius.	Mr. Sam. [Rowley].	Ascalon, a spirit.
Tamar, the Moor.	Mr. Charles [Massey].	Artaxes.
Frederick.	Richard Allen.	.....
Jailors, Messengers, Guards, Servants, Confederates, Lords.	Black Dick [Jones]. Thomas Hunt. The Gatherers. Robert Ledbeter. Pig. Edward Dutton. Griffin [boy]. Will. [Barne : boy]. E. Dutton's boy : Dick. Mr. [John] Singer. Mr. Thomas Denygten [Downton or Dutton]. Dick Juby. Will. Cartwright. Tho. Marbeck. William Parr. Mr. [William] Burne. Humphrey Jeffes. Antony Jeffes. Thomas Parsons. George. [Qy., Little Will. Barne.] Jack Jones [boy]. Jack Gregory. Mr. Denygten's little boy.	Assinego, the Clown. Mango Cham. Trebassus ; Chorus Spirit. Nobleman, &c. Pontus, a spirit, &c. Scout, Trumpet, &c. Colmogra. Otanes. Linus, a satyr. Nurse, Messenger, &c. Guard, attendant, &c. Tarmia. Palmeda. Tarmia's children ; Heron and Thia, nymphs.
Pedro.		
Andreo.		
Philippo.		
Athanasia.		
Leonora.		
Basilea.		

At the end of Tamar Cham came the following procession :—

1. The Tartars, Mr. Towne and Mr. Denygten.
2. The Getes, Gideon, and Gibbs.
3. The Amazons, Jack Gregory and little Will.
4. The Negars, { Tho. Rowley and the red faced fellow.
5. The olive colord Moors, A. Jeffes and Mr. Juby.
6. The Cannibals, Kester and old [R.] Brown.
7. The Hermaphrodites, James [Bristow] and Parsons.
8. The Bohars, W. Parr and W. Cartwright.
9. The Pigmies, Giles' boy and little Will Barne.
10. The Crymms, Mr. Sam and Ned Brown.
11. The Cathayans, Dick Juby and George.
12. The Bactrians, [ ] and T. Marbeck.

Of the four plots found by Malone in the Alleyn papers at Dulwich College, only one (the 2 Seven Deadly Sins) now remains. I am, therefore, compelled to rely on Malone's transcript for these other plots, on the accuracy of which, as printed in "Variorum," iii. 348, Mr. Collier (iii. 197) unjustly throws a slur. Malone neither forged entire documents nor inserted forged intercalations in those which he copied.

Admiral's Men, 1594–1603, *from "Henslow's Diary."*

	1594, Dec., p. 6.	1597, Oct. 11, p. 115.	1598, Mar. 13, p. 120.	1600, July, p. 172.	1602, Feb. 7, p. 218.	
Edward Allen	1	[gave up playing c. Aug. 1597; cf. p. 115].				...
John Singer	2	8	1	1	1	...
Richard Jones	3	4	8	8	[leaves 1600, Sep. 29], came 1597, Sep. 29—3 years.	
Thomas Towne	4	7	6	4	5	...
Martin Slaughter	5	["went for (*i.e.*, from) the company 18 July 1597," p. 99].				
Edward Juby	6	6	...	10	4	...
Thomas Dowton	7	5	2	3	2	see p. 259
James Donstan	8	[mentioned 1596, Dec. 11, p. 77].				...
William Borne	...	1	3	6	3	see p. 258
Gabriel Spenser	...	2	5	[killed in duel by Jonson, 1598, Sep.].		
Robert Shaw	...	3	4	2	...	see p. 258
Humphrey Jeffes	...	9	7	5	6	...
Antony Jeffes	...	10	...	7	7	...
Charles Massey	...	...	9	9	9	see p. 260
Samuel Rowley	...	...	10	11	8	see p. 260

Thomas Heywood, hired for 2 years as player, 1598, Mar. 25, p. 260; last mentioned, 1599, Feb. 12.

James Bristow, Henslow's boy, was bought of William Augusten, player, 1597, Dec. 18, for £8, p. 259.

John Helle, clown, bound to play at the Rose from 3 Aug. 1597 till Shrovetide 1598, p. 257.

Richard Allen, bound 1598, Mar. 25, to play for 2 years, p. 259; dead before 1602, Sep. 18, p. 261.

As none of the four last named were shareholders, they do not appear in Henslow's lists, as given above. Spenser and the two Jeffes are known as members of Pembroke's company anterior to 1597. One Sheldon, player, is also mentioned, 29th August 1594 (p. 112).

I may note here that I do not profess to give the variations of spelling in these men's names. They are interesting, but do not bear on our subject. Thus we meet with Alleyn and Allen; Slaughter and Slater; Downton, Dowton, and Dutton; Broome, Bourne, Borne, Barne, and Bird; Shaw and Shaa; Heywood, Hawood, and Hayward; Dekker and Dickers, Burby and Burbadge, Egglestone and Ecclestone, Rowland and Rowley, Marlow and Marley, Cundall and Condell, Toole and Tooley, Turner and Tourneur, Burght and Birch, Robins and Robinson; Henslow, Hinchlow, and Hensley; Kane and Caine, Axel and Axen, Goad and Goat, Hamlet and Hanten. In the course of this book I

have avoided any attempt at consistency in my own writing of these names, because it would be misleading to the reader.

With regard to the two plots here abstracted, and which are of greater interest than those of the players, because they undoubtedly show the full resources of the company at their respective dates of performance, it will be worth while to examine minutely what those dates were.

Frederick and Basilea was a new play, first acted 3rd June 1597, and last mentioned on 4th July. As Mr. Allen (*i.e.*, Edward) is distinguished from Richard Allen in it, the plot must date before "my son, Ed. Allen, left playing" was written by Henslow, 29th December (p. 115). Slaughter and Dunstan were also members of the company, which implies a date before 18th July. How, then, do Mr. Sam [Rowley] and Mr. Charles [Massey] appear so early with the prefix "Mr.," which indicates a "sharer," while they are omitted in the October list three months after? The answer is simple. Henslow's list is incomplete, as is proved by the signatures of Massey and Rowley to the very account to which this October list is a heading. There is no break in the account in January (p. 117), for Henslow's total amount is given to 8th March as £46, 7s. 3d. The amount from January 5 to March 8 is only £34, 18s. The previous items, amounting to £15, 18s. 3d., must therefore be included. This seems to involve an under-statement of £4, 9s. on Henslow's part; but on p. 105 it appears that on December 1 they had paid him £1, and the odd 9s. paid to the Master of the Revels certainly ought not to have been put by Henslow in this account. The £3 unaccounted for may also have been paid, although no receipt for it appears in Henslow's muddled day-book. This "Diary" ought to be edited by some one familiar with commercial business.

There is, therefore (this difficulty being cleared up), a certainty that the date of the plot is anterior to 18th July. It no doubt was that used on the first presentment on 3rd June. It is also certain that Massey and Rowley were players in the company at that time.

The other plot is palpably later. Will. Barne has become Mr. Burne; the Jeffes, Cartwright, and Parr have joined the company. The Jeffes, we know, came with Pembroke's men. Parr and Cartwright are not elsewhere mentioned till 1603. The book of Tamber Cam or Tamar Cham (often absurdly confused with Tamerlane) was bought by Henslow of E. Allen, 2nd October 1602, for the Admiral's men (p. 227). He at first entered it to Worcester's men under that date (p. 241), but erased the entry. This is clearly the date of this plot. The original production of it, 1596, May to November, is quite out of court, for Pembroke's men, the Jeffes, had not then joined the Admiral's. The Mr. Allen in it would seem, therefore, far more likely to be Richard than Edward, and yet there is a mention of Mrs. Allen, widow (p. 261), which surely indicates that Richard was dead before 18th September. I venture to conjecture that Edward, whose affection for all namesakes, relatives or no, was so prominent, performed in this revival for the widow's benefit. We have no other mention of him on the boards after 1597.

Further minor lists of the Admiral's men will be found in the "Diary," pp. 255–260, but they give no additional information.

It appears that when Martin Slaughter left this company, 18th July 1597, there was some difficulty in settling the accounts between the other men and him, who had apparently acted as intermediary between them and Henslow; for (p. 111) on 8th March 1598 [not 1599; compare the subsequent dates] there was a suit between him and Borne, Dowton, and Spenser. On 29th March Borne was "released from the arrest of Langleys" by Henslow's paying 13s. 4d., but this was a second lawsuit. On 30th August he was involved in a third; this time with T. Pope, the actor (cf. p. 109).

I may note here that the "fetching" of Brown and Fletcher (p. 78) in 1596–7 has nothing to do with Fletcher the dramatist or Brown the actor; it merely relates to the purchasing of properties from these men.

SECTION D.

THEATRES (1593–1603).

THEATER.	CURTAIN.	ROSE.	NEWINGTON.	BLACKFRIARS.	PAUL'S.
1594, Oct.–1597, Oct., Chamberlain's.	1594–1597, Oct., Pembroke's.	1593, Dec. 27–1594, Feb. 6, Sussex'.	1594, June 3–13, Admiral's and Chamberlain's.	1597–1603, Chapel.	1600–1603, Paul's.
	1597, Oct.–1599, Chamberlain's.	1594, Apr. 1–8, Queen's and Sussex'.			
GLOBE.			FORTUNE.		
1599–1603, Chamberlain's.	1599–1600, Derby's.	1594, June 16–1597, July 28, Admiral's.	1600, Nov.–1603, Admiral's.		
	1601, Uncertain company.	1597, Oct. 11 Dec. 31, Admiral's and Pembroke's.			
		1598, Jan. 1–1600, Oct., Admiral's.			
	SWAN.				
	1602, Nov. 2, Uncertain company.	1600, Oct. 28, 29, Pembroke's.			
		1602, Aug. 17–1603, May 9, Worcester's.			

The above table, all the particulars of which have been already considered, gives the dates of occupation of the theatres by the various companies during this period. This is, however, a convenient place for the consideration of the theatrical play-places in general. There were four kinds of these: (1) the converted inn-yards; (2) the buildings used also for bull- and bear-baiting; (3) the public theatres; (4) the private theatres. Stow (*i.e.*, Howes), p. 1004, has a cardinal passage on this point: "This [Salisbury Court] is the 17th stage or common playhouse, which hath been new made within the space of three score years within London and the suburbs; viz., 5 inns or common hostelries turned to playhouses, one cockpit, St Paul's singing school, one in the Blackfriars, and one in the Whitefriars, which was built last of all in the year 1629. All the rest not named were

erected only for common playhouses, besides the new-built bear garden, which was built as well for plays and fencers' prizes as bull baiting; besides one in[1] former time at Newington Butts."

The five inns were: (1) the Bell Savage on Ludgate Hill; (2) the Bell; (3) the Cross Keys; both in Gracechurch Street; (4) the Bull in Bishopsgate Street; and (5) the play-place "near Paul's."

The four private houses were: (1) the Cockpit or Phœnix in Drury Lane; (2) the singing-school of St. Paul's; (3) the Blackfriars; (4) the Whitefriars, rebuilt under the name of Salisbury Court.

The rebuilt bear-garden was the Hope, otherwise called Paris Garden, in St. Saviour's, Southwark, near the Bankside.

The remaining seven were public stages: (1) the Theatre, (2) the Curtain, both in Shoreditch; (3) the Rose, close to Paris Garden; (4) the Globe, on the Bankside; (5) the Swan, westward of the Globe; (6) the Red Bull, at the top of St. John's Street, Clerkenwell; and (7) the Fortune in Golding Lane, Cripplegate. No public stage or bear-garden was allowed within the City.

My reason for noting this matter here is that Halliwell and others have altogether gone astray in identifying the Bankside theatres in the old maps. In Aggas' map, 1560, a "bear-baiting place" (Paris Garden) is marked, and west of this a "bull-baiting place" (probably replaced by the Swan before 1598). In John Norden's map, 1593 (Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 4), the bear-garden (Paris Garden) is still marked, and south-east of it is "the playhouse," which in 1593 must, of course, be the Rose. In Hondius' view, published 1610, these two play-places again are found in the same relative situation, but now Mr. Halliwell identifies the "playhouse" with the Globe, and asserts that this is the only authentic representation of it, I suppose because it is round; but so were nearly all the theatres (except the Fortune, as at first built, and the Red Bull). Hondius' view, engraved in 1610, does not extend far enough westward to take in the Globe.

[1] *i.e.*, built before 1578, and therefore not included in the seventeen.

Again, in Hollar's map, usually dated c. 1620, there are four theatres: the Swan to the west, Paris Garden and the Rose as in the others, and one between the Swan and the other two, which must be the Globe.

At this time (1620) the Rose and the Swan, though still standing, had long ceased to be used for plays, but were still open for fencing-matches and the like ("Variorum," iii. 56).

I will now give some particulars of the theatres erected in the reign of Elizabeth.

1. THE THEATER.—This stood in the liberty of Halliwell (Holywell), in St. Leonard's parish, Shoreditch, where Deane's Mews now stands. The ground was leased by Giles Allen to James Burbadge, a joiner, 1576, April 13, for twenty-one years, with a covenant that if Burbadge spent £200 in erections he should have liberty to remove them. He built thereon the Theater with borrowed money (£600), and being a joiner, built it of wood. It was open in 1577. Another covenant was, that a new lease should be granted if applied for within ten years. It was applied for 1585, November 1, and refused by Allen, probably on account of Burbadge having assigned his interest (Query, on mortgage) to John Hyde, 1579, September 17. Hyde surrendered his interest to Cuthbert Burbadge, 1589, June 7; James Burbadge having made a deed of gift of this property to his sons, Cuthbert and Richard, no doubt before this date. A fresh negotiation for a new lease at advanced rent having fallen through early in 1597, James Burbadge died, and soon after the expiry of the original lease, his son, with the Chamberlain's company, removed to the Curtain in October 1597. On 28th December 1598, during Allen's absence in the country, Cuthbert privily removed part of the building, and another part on 20th January 1599, to the Bankside, where Peter Street used these materials in erecting the Globe for him in 1599. James Burbadge is said to have made £2000 by the Theater. This being a public theatre, with daylight performances, was open to the sky in the centre, with seats in the rooms and galleries. The

charge for admission was 1d. at the gate which admitted to the pit, where there were no seats; 1d. more for admission to the scaffold or gallery; and 1d. for reserved standing-room in pit or seat in gallery. This account, with slight additions, is derived from Halliwell's "Life of Shakespeare," to which I refer the reader who desires further antiquarian or archæological information not bearing on either Shakespeare or stage history. Fencing-matches and the like were exhibited at the Theater as well as plays. There are many references to them in the "City Records" from 1579 to 1585. The only important mistake in Halliwell's statement is his date for the cessation of performances, which was certainly 1597, not 1598, as he says. "The unfrequented Theater" is alluded to in "Skialetheia" (S. R. for N. Ling, 15th Sept. 1598), a book of satires, suppressed 14th June 1599 (S. R., iii. 316b). The exact date of the cessation of the Chamberlain's players is determined by the order of inhibition, 28th July 1597. The date of reopening at the Curtain by George Lord Hunsdon's men was 1st November. The theatres were closed in the meanwhile.

2. The Curtain.—This was a similar building to the Theater, situate close to it, and requiring no special notice here. It was erected at about the same time, 1576–7. A fallacy, however, of Mr. Halliwell's respecting Romeo and Juliet does require notice on account of the confusion it has introduced into dramatic annals. He shows satisfactorily that this play was acted by George Hunsdon's men between 22nd July 1596 and 17th April 1597, and that it was being acted at the Curtain 8th September 1598 (S. R., 8th September 1598, when Marston's Scourge of Villainy was entered). But he assumes that these two series of performances were identical, whereas the George Lord Hunsdon's performance was that of the first Quarto published in 1597, the Curtain performance that of the second rewritten Quarto published in 1599.

3. The Rose.—Built on the Bankside by Henslow 1591, and

opened 19th February 1592. A similar public theatre; used for plays during the reign of Elizabeth; for fencing, &c., during that of James. Henslow's interest undoubtedly ceased in 1603; the last performance mentioned there is on 9th May. On 25th June ("Diary," p. 235) he talked with Mr. [Morgan, not Thomas] Pope concerning taking a [new] lease of it, and Pope produced a writing betwixt the parish and himself [*i.e.*, I suppose, a proposition from the parish as ground landlord], which was to pay £20 rent and spend 100 marks in building. Henslow said he would rather pull down the playhouse [as the Burbadges had done]. Pope [Henslow's legal adviser, I think; he lived at a scrivener's house] "bid me do it, and said he would give me leave, and would bear me out." Cf. Alleyn papers, XVII., for this Morgan Pope. I suppose a compromise was effected. The "little Rose" was not pulled down. Malone ("Variorum," iii. 56) says that it was used in 1620 for fencers and gladiators, and gives Sir H. Herbert's office-book as his authority. In the pamphlet "Holland's Leaguer" (1632) the Globe, the Hope, and the Rose are referred to as very "near situated." Compare with this Hollar's map, and it will be evident that Paris Garden was no other building than the Hope; otherwise there would have been four "famous amphitheatres" in the map. In an "unexpurgated edition" of Ford, published by the firm of Vizetelly & Co., and remarkable for nothing but an unblushing description of Ford's most mischievous play 'Tis Pity, &c., as "free comparatively[1] from weak or base elements," names are authoritatively given to the theatres in this map which are ridiculously absurd, the Rose being altogether omitted. Only the Globe was then used for plays.

4. The Swan.—Another similar public theatre. R. Wilson gave a challenge in extemporal versifying here, mentioned in Meres' Wit's Treasury (S. R., 7th September 1598). England's Joy, *i.e*, Queen Elizabeth, a show by one William Vennor, was

[1] Compare A. W. Ward's just description—"Poison in a cup of sweetness." But he was writing for a different object and a different publisher.

exhibited here 6th November 1602, the plot of which is extant. Lady Elizabeth's men played here under Alexander Foster from 29th August 1611 till March 1613. Only during these two years had it any connexion with the drama; before and after it was used only for fencing, &c.

5. Newington Butts.—This inferior theatre, too far south to appear in the map views, was, according to Stow, built "in former time," *i.e.*, anterior to 1571. Obscure allusions to theatres on the Bankside before 1592 may refer to this play-place, but its only real connexion with the drama has already been noticed; viz., the performances there in 1592 by Strange's men, and in 1594 by them and the Admiral's. I believe that it was suppressed before the Swan was built.

6. Paris Garden.—A very ancient place for bear-baiting, known from 1525 onwards. Supposed, on account of Jonson's having "played Zulziman there" (Dekker's Satiromastix), to have been used for plays. I think the phrase too ambiguous for any such conclusion. It was pulled down 1614, and the Hope built on its site (see *infra*). Henslow's interest in it began 28th November 1595 ("Diary," p. 107, and compare pp. 167, 207).

7. The Globe.—Built by James Burbadge early in 1599. The exact position of this theatre is of importance. It was "situate in Maiden Lane" (part of Park Street of the present time), in the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark. This lane appears from the maps of the eighteenth century to have run irregularly parallel to the Bankside, just south of the Bear Garden, which abutted on the river. The Rose, if I can judge from a careful comparison of the maps and views now extant, stood south-east of Paris Garden, about the north end of Redcross Street; the Globe to the south-west of Paris Garden, in the western part of Maiden Lane. The original Globe, Rose, and Paris Garden all seem to have been round theatres. When rebuilt the

Globe was octagonal, and the Hope hexagonal (like the Swan). The Rose also would appear, from the views, to have been rebuilt between 1610 and 1620 on a hexagonal plan, but there is no historical record known of such rebuilding. I place it conjecturally in 1611, just prior to its occupation by Foster as a play-place in August. The ground on which the Globe stood was leased to Burbadge. When it was burned on St. Peter's Day, 29th June 1613, this lease, I suppose, became void; at all events a new one was granted for twenty-one years from Lady Day 1614, and on the expiry of this a shorter one of nine years from Lady Day 1635. A few details as to its arrangement can be derived from a document referred to in the next paragraph.

8. The Fortune.—Situate in Golden (Golding) Lane, St. Giles', without Cripplegate; built by Peter Street, carpenter, for Henslow and Allen. From the agreement for this erection (printed in "Variorum," iii. 338), made 8th January 1600, it appears that it was square, 80 feet on the outside, 55 feet inside, with three stories, of height, 12, 11, and 9 feet respectively, each storey jutting 10 inches over that below it. There were four divisions for gentlemen's rooms, and other divisions for twopenny rooms, with seats in those rooms (boxes), and all the rest of the galleries. The stairs, conveyances, and divisions were like those in and to the Globe. The stage was 43 feet long, and in breadth (*i.e.*, depth) extended to the middle of the yard. It had a cover or shadow (which the rest of the "yard" or central open space had not), and there was a tiring-house. The stage was paled in, and fenced with strong iron piles: a gutter in the covering discharged the water backwards. All principal posts were square, "pilaster-wise," not round as at the Globe, which is referred to as the model for all unspecified arrangements. The cost of building was to be £440, and the work finished by 27th July. It was not finished till November, and was opened in that month. The actual cost is given by Alleyn as £520.

On 9th December (Sunday) 1621 it was "burnt down in two

hours, and all the apparel and playbooks lost." Chamberlain, in his letter, 15th December, to Sir Dudley Carleton, calls it "the first playhouse in this town." So it was in 1621, but "first" means here largest (compare "our vast theatre" in the Roaring Girl), not earliest, as Maitland interpreted it. Of course, "in this town" does not include the Bankside, and only "public" theatres are intended. It was rebuilt and reopened certainly by 6th April 1624, when A match or no match was licensed for it; probably before 27th July 1623, when Richard 3 or the English Prophet was licensed for the Palsgrave's players, who used this theatre. Had they not had this theatre to play in they would have been travelling "softly on the hoof" round the country (Vox Graculi, 1623 [c. January 1]). It was rebuilt as a round theatre; the square was an exceptional shape, and does not seem to have been liked; and it was finally pulled down in 1661.

I now come to the private theatres of the reign of Elizabeth.

1. The SINGING-SCHOOL of St. Paul's, opened early in 1600 or late in 1599. The Paul's boys ceased to act in 1607; but I think the children of the King's Revels, who succeeded them, were the same company under another name, just as the children of the Queen's Revels were a continuation of the children of the Chapel. If not, we must assume the creation of an entirely new boy company, which is not likely. They acted from 1607 to 1609.

2. BLACKFRIARS.—The freehold of the house which was transformed into this theatre was purchased by James Burbadge of Sir W. More 4th May 1596. It was near Ludgate in London, so that both the private houses were within the walls. It consisted of seven large rooms, middle stories, and upper rooms. The purchase-money was £600. The inhabitants petitioned against the erection of a new theatre in November, among them the Lord George Hunsdon, according to Halliwell, who gives (after Collier) a document of which a copy exists, said to date c. 1631, from the State Papers. This document refers to the build-

ing as being "in the liberties," whereas the deed expressly states that it was "in London," but it rightly describes it as "adjoining the dwelling-houses of the Lord Chamberlain [Brooke] and the Lord of Hunsdon [George Carey];" whereas the deed which dates before the death of Henry Carey in July 22 mentions it as adjoining the houses of Sir George Carey and the Lord Cobham. I think this exactness unlikely if the document were, as Dr. Ingleby thought, one of the many forged ones published by Collier. James Burbadge incurred great charge and trouble in making the building into a playhouse, which implies a certain lapse of time. There is no trace of any performance there until November 1598, when The Case is altered, by Jonson (his earliest extant play), was acted by "the children of the Blackfriars." It was leased in 1600 to "one Evans," that "first set up" the Chapel boys. The subsequent leases show that it was at Michaelmas. In 1608, August, the Burbadges, Cuthbert and Richard, bought the then remaining lease of Sebastian Evans, the master of the Chapel, and near the end of 1609 placed men-players, Hemings, Condell, Shakespeare, &c., in their room. In 1642 this theatre was finally closed.

These private theatres were in enclosed dwellings, had pits with seats instead of open yards, there were locks on the box or room doors, the performances were by candlelight, and part of the audience sat on the stage smoking, &c. They grew out of the private performances at marriages, &c., of the gentry and the Inns of Court Revels, just as the public theatres did out of the inn-yard play-houses and the open-air scaffolds in market-places.

SECTION E.

AUTHORS (1594–1603).

I.—*Chamberlain's Men* (1594–1603).

Shakespeare . . .	See my "Life of Shakespeare."
Anon.	1594, at Newington Butts they played old Pembroke plays; Hester and Ahasuerus; [Marlow's] Andronicus; [Kyd's] Hamlet and [Dekker and Kyd's] Taming of a Shrew. [At the Theater] 1594–7, [Kyd's] Hamlet; [Marlow's] Edward 3 and Richard 3 [altered by Shakespeare]; [Peele and Tylney's] Locrine (perhaps); and [Lodge's] Siege of Antwerp and Sir Thomas More [in which another hand had good share]. At the Curtain, 1597–9, [Drayton's] Merry Devil of Edmonton; [Lodge's] Warning for Fair Women.
Jonson	Every Man in his Humour (at the Curtain), and Every Man out of his Humour (at the Globe).
Dekker	Satiromastix (at the Globe).
W. S.	Thomas Lord Cromwell.

II.—*Chapel Children* (*at Blackfriar's*), 1597–1603.

Jonson	Case is altered; Cynthia's Revels; Poetaster.
Anon.	Sir Giles Goosecap.
Lyly	Love's Metamorphosis; an old Paul's play.
Chapman	[Gentleman Usher]; May Day.

III.—*Paul's Boys* (1600–1603).

Marston	1, 2 Antonio and Mellida.
Anon.	Jack Drum's Entertainment [Marston]; Maid's Metamorphosis [Lyly]; Doctor Doddipoll.
Percy	Necromantes or The two Supposed Heads.
Dekker	Satiromastix.
Middleton . . .	Blurt Master Constable.

IV.—*Pembroke's Men* (1594–1597).

No extant play of this period known with certainty.

Derby's Men (1599–1600).

Heywood	1, 2 Edward 4 (Jane Shore).
Anon.	Trial of Chivalry [Heywood and another; Query, Wentworth Smith].

Worcester's Men (1602–3).

Heywood . . . . Woman killed with kindness; Blind eats many a fly; additions to Cutting Dick [*i.e.*, Dick Bowyer, the same as The Trial of Chivalry].

Heywood and Smith Marshal Osric [Royal King and Loyal Subject; afterwards altered by Heywood]. These two authors, in conjunction with Chettle, Dekker, and Webster, also wrote 1, 2 Lady Jane, from which Dekker and Webster afterwards extracted their Sir Thomas Wyatt.

Anon. . . . . How a man may choose a good wife from a bad [Heywood. Not in Henslow's list].

Hathaway, and Day also wrote for this company.

For other non-extant plays see abstract of "Henslow's Diary."

V.—*Admiral's Men* (1594–1603).

It would be useless to give a repetition of the abstract of "Henslow's Diary." I will therefore confine my notices chiefly to extant plays.

Anon. . . . . At the Rose, 1594–7. 2 Godfrey of Boulogne [4 Prentices of London]; Cœlo et Olympo [Golden Age]; 1, 2 Hercules [Silver and Brazen Ages]; Troy and Five plays in one [Iron Age; all by Heywood]; and the Witch of Islington.

Blind Beggar of Alexandria; Comedy of Humours [Humorous Day's Mirth; by Chapman].

Vortiger or Hengist [Mayor of Quinborough; by Middleton].

Tasso's Melancholy; Set at Maw [Match me in London]; The Mack [Wonder of a Kingdom; by Dekker].

Knack to know an Honest Man; Cesar and Pompey [foundation of Chapman's play]; Palamon and Arcite; Frederick and Basilea.

Captain Stukely [by Peele, Dekker, and Chettle].

All these plays were greatly reformed before publication under the names given conjecturally between brackets.

At the Rose (1597–1600).

Dekker . . . . Phaeton [altered by Ford into the Sun's Darling]; ortunatus [complete]; Truth's Supplication to Candlelight [altered into the Whore of Babylon]; Gentle Craft or Shoemaker's Holiday.

Haughton . . . Woman will have her Will [Englishmen for my money]; Devil and his Dame [Grim the Collier of Croydon].

Monday and Chettle	1, 2 Robin Hood.
Jonson and Chapman	[Mortimer].
Chapman	Fountain of New Fashions [M. D'Olive]; World runs on wheels, or All Fools but the Fool.
Anon	Look about you.
Heywood	War without Blows and Love without Suit [Thracian Wonder]; Joan as good as my Lady [a Maidenhead well Lost].
Porter	2 Angry Women of Abingdon.
Mun., Dry., Wil., Hat.	Sir John Oldcastle.
Dek., Chet., Haug.	Patient Grissel.
Dek., Day, Haug.	Spanish Moor's Tragedy [Lust's Dominion: Lascivious Queen].
Chettle, Day	Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green.

At the Fortune (1600–1603).

Jonson	Additions to 2 Jeronymo.
Chettle and Heywood	Hoffman [Danish Tragedy.]
	For Revivals, &c., see the "Diary" abstract. I now add a complete list of the poets of the Admiral's company, with dates, 1597–1603:—
Haughton	1597, Nov. 5–1598, Feb. 18; 1599, Aug. 20–1601, Nov. 14.
Jonson	1597, Dec. 3–1598, Aug. 23; 1599, Aug 10–1599, Sep. 3; 1601, Sep. 25–1602, June 24.
Monday	1597, Dec. 22–1598, Aug. 19; 1599, Oct. 16–1602, Dec. 2.
Wilson	1598, Mar. 25–1598, Aug. 21; 1599, Oct. 16–1600, Jan. 10.
Hathaway	1598, Apr. 12–1598, July 19; 1599, Oct. 16–1603, Mar. 1.
Dekker	1597, Dec. 22–1602, Nov. 3.
Chettle	1598, Feb. 20–1603, Mar. 12.
Drayton	1598, Mar. 13–1602, May 29.
Chapman	1598, May 16–1599, July 17.
Porter	1598, May 30–1599, Apr. 7.
Day	1599, Nov. 1–1603, Mar. 1.
Heywood	1598, Dec. 6–1599, Feb. 10 [went to Derby's men].
Went. Smith	1601, Apr. 4–1602, Nov. 8.
Rankin	1601, Jan. 3–1601, Apr. 18.
Webster	1601, Nov. 3–1602, May 22.
S. Rowley and Bird	1601, Dec. 20–1602, Nov. 22.
Middleton	1602, May 22–1602, Dec. 14.

Occasional mention is found of Marston, 1599, Sep. 28; Boyle, 1600, Feb. 9; Pett, 1600, May 17; Wadeson, 1601, Jan. 13; Robinson, 1602, Sep. 9; Singer, 1603, Jan. 13.

SECTION F.

GENERAL STAGE HISTORY (1593–1603).

On 28th January 1595 the undergraduates of Trinity College, Cambridge, intending to set forth certain comedies and one tragedy, requested through Thomas Neville, the Vice-Chancellor, a Trinity man, the loan of ancient princely attire from the Tower, for use in the tragedy (Lansdowne MSS., 78; Collier, i. 286).

1595. Sep. 13.—The Mayor complains to the Privy Council as to the "old haunts" of the Theater and Bankside being allowed to be reopened (Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 20).

An interesting letter by T. Nash to William Cotton, written in the Long Vacation (29th June to 10th October), 1596, and printed in Collier, i. 292, contains allusions to the term having been held at Hertford and St. Albans in 1592 and 1593, and a statement that "the players are piteously persecuted by the Lord Mayor and the Alderman; and, however in their old Lord's time they thought their state settled, it is now so uncertain *they cannot build upon it.*" This does not allude to players generally, but to the company, of whom Nash says: "In town I stayed (being earnestly invited elsewhere), upon had-I-wist hopes of an after harvest I expected by writing for the stage." The company for whom Nash wrote was that of the Chapel children, for whom Burbadge at this time was endeavouring to build the Blackfriars theatre; the company that could not build was Burbadge's own company, the Lord G. Hunsdon's, not yet appointed Chamberlain. Their "old Lord" was Henry Hunsdon, the former Chamberlain, now succeeded by Brooke L. Cobham (compare p. 134). The important new point brought out by this explanation of a hitherto entirely misunderstood letter is, that the City authorities were trying to suppress the Theater, where Hunsdon's men acted, and to prevent their building Blackfriars in its place. Another, but minor, consideration is the flat contradiction involved in it to Mr. Collier's forged entries of the writing by Nash of the Isle of Dogs

for the Admiral's company. Nash's letter also contains allusions to Harrington's Metamorphosis of Ajax, already printed (but not entered S. R. till 30th October, where no payment is noted with the entry). Nash farther on alludes to Monday's Ballad of Untruss and Gillian of Brentford's Will, but I have in this and all similar instances confined my extracts to what strictly concerns stage history.

1597. July 28.—The Privy Council (at the instigation of the City authorities) directed the Justices of Surrey and Middlesex that, in consequence of disorders at the playhouses and lewd matters handled on the stages [notably the representation of my Lord Chamberlain Brooke L. Cobham's son Henry as Sir John Oldcastle in Shakespeare's Henry 4], the Theater and Curtain, near Shoreditch, as well as the theatre [Rose] on the Bankside, or any others within three miles of London, should be dismantled. ("Registers of the Privy Council;" Halliwell, "Illustrations," p. 21). This order, made in Brooke's interest, was just too late. William Brooke, the Chamberlain, died 5th March 1597, and George Carey, succeeding him on 27th April, soon acquired enough influence to neutralise this opposition and restore his players to the same pre-eminence which they had had under his father's patronage. Blackfriars was built and opened; the Chamberlain's men took possession of the Curtain; the Rose remained undisturbed; and although the Theater was dismantled, it was only for it to be removed to the Bankside, set up again, and opened as the Globe in 1599.

1598. Feb. 19.—The Privy Council wrote to the Master of the Revels (Tilney) and the Justices, stating that, as the Admiral's and Chamberlain's were the only two companies retained by and belonging to them, "a third company, who of late have by way of intrusion used likewise to play, having neither prepared any play for Her Majesty, nor are bound to you, the Mr. of the Revels, for performing such orders as have been prescribed, &c.," is to be suppressed forthwith. This third company was almost certainly Pembroke's, who had been acting at the Rose with the Admiral's from 11th October to 5th November

1597, and having separated from them, were "intruding" in any play-place they could hire. They had occupied the Curtain up to 1597, but had prepared no play for the Queen since 1592–3. They had evidently become obnoxious at Court. After their "suppression" they travelled in 1598 and 1599, but still intruded occasionally.

1598. Sep. 7.—S. R., "Wit's Treasury," by Francis Meres, was entered for Cuthbert Burby. The lists of writers of Tragedy and Comedy in this book show who were the acknowledged playwrights up to this date, viz., "our best for Tragedy:"—

[1.] Lord Buckhurst [Thomas Sackville].
[2.] Doctor [Thomas] Leg of Cambridge.
[3.] Doctor Edes of Oxford.
[4.] Master Edward Ferris [Ferrers]
[5.] The author of the Mirror for Magistrates [George Ferrers; not Sackville, who has been mentioned before: but is not "Edward Ferris" (copied by Meres from Puttenham) a mistake for George Ferris, so that 4 and 5 are one writer only?].
[6. Christopher] Marlow.
[7. George] Peele.
[8. John] Watson.
[9. Thomas] Kyd.
[10. William] Shakespeare.
[11. Michael] Drayton.
[12. George] Chapman.
[13. Thomas] Dekker.
[14. Benjamin] Jonson.

And "the best for Comedy amongst us:"—

[1.] Edward [de Vere] Earl of Oxford.
[2.] Doctor [William] Gager of Oxford.
[3.] Master [William (according to Wood) but Query] Rowley, once a rare scholar of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.
[4.] Master [Richard] Edwards, one of Her Majesty's Chapel.
[5.] Eloquent and witty John Lilly.

[6. Thomas] Lodge.
[7. George] Gascoigne.
[8. Robert] Greene.
[9. William] Shakespeare.
[10.] Thomas Nash.
[11.] Thomas Heywood.
[12.] Antony Munday, our best plotter.
[13. George] Chapman.
[14. Henry] Porter.
[15. Robert] Wilson.
[16. Richard] Hathway.
[17.] Henry Chettle.

It will be noticed that Chapman and Shakespeare are the only names that occur in both lists. He had already mentioned Shakespeare as the "most excellent in both kinds." Meres' arrangement of the names is evidently meant to be chronological, but is not accurately so.

1600. June 22.—Orders of Council to the Mayor and Justices. Only two [public] playhouses shall be allowed; one on the Bankside in Surrey, viz., the Globe, which has been chosen by the Chamberlain's men; the other, the Fortune in Middlesex, now in hand to be built by Edward Allen, instead of the Curtain, which [and by inference the Rose also] is to be plucked down or put to other good use [but this was not done in either case at this time]. Also only two plays on weekdays are to be allowed in each week: there are to be no plays in Lent or during time of infection. There is no mention whatever of playing by children's companies at Blackfriars and Paul's. And yet in the year 1600 both the Chapel children and Paul's boys were certainly performing at these private houses. Did they reopen after June 22?

1601. Mar. 11.—The Council order the Mayor to suppress plays at Paul's, Blackfriars, &c., during Lent.

1601. May 10.—The Council write to the Middlesex Justices complaining that the players at the Curtain represent on the

stage "under obscure manner, but yet in such sort as all the hearers may take notice both of the matter and the persons that are meant thereby," certain gentlemen that are yet alive: such plays are to be forbid them, "to whomsoever they may appertain." No doubt they were Earl Derby's men, and were forbidden, which was hard on them, seeing that every company in London had for three years been doing the same thing. This was a pretence to get rid of a company not favoured by the Council.

1601. Dec. 31.—The Council write to the Mayor and the Justices complaining that their orders of 1600, June 22, had not been obeyed, and that the number of playhouses had not been duly restricted. This letter is of angry tone, and is an excellent instance of the nature of all these bickerings between the Council and the City. The ruling motive was not Puritan on the City side, but an obstinate determination to assert their privileges. If the Court wanted to have many play-places within the City, the Mayor and Aldermen put them down and drove them into the liberties. If the Court wanted to give a monopoly to their favoured companies, the Justices allowed every regularly constructed theatre to remain open. In 1602, directly after this order to limit the theatres to two, there were acting about London—(1) the Chamberlain's men at the Globe; (2) Worcester's at the Rose; (3) the Admiral's at the Fortune; (4) an unknown company at the Curtain. These were public-houses. There were also (5) the Chapel boys at Blackfriars; and (6) the Paul's boys, to say nothing of Paris Garden and the Swan, where Venner's show of England's Joy was exhibited on 6th November. The full number (six) of theatres strictly so called was kept up, as well as the bear-baiting, puppet-shows, fencers' prizes, &c.

1602. Feb. 2.—"At our feast [at an Inn of Court] we had a play called Twelfth Night, or What you will, much like the Comedy of Errors, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and near to that in Italian called Inganni" ("Manningham's Diary"). Of course Shakespeare's play.

INTERCALATORY SECTION.

PLAGUE YEARS (1559–1642).

I HAVE already noted under their respective dates the Elizabethan plague[1] years of 1586, 1592, and 1593. But in the reigns of James and Charles the plagues were so frequent that the theatres were often closed in consequence. This took place whenever the deaths from plague amounted to forty per week. Allusions to this regulation are numerous, and its exactness can be shown by comparing "Henslow's Diary" with the plague-table for 1593. From the "Diary" it appears (p. 5) that acting ceased on May 3, and (p. 31) that it recommenced 27th December. From the mortality table I find that the number of forty was reached on April 28, and maintained till December 15; it fell to thirty-nine on December 22. This year was one of the great Plague years, the deaths from plague amounting to 11,503. The other years were 1603, 1025, 1636. There are no other tables extant for Elizabeth's reign. The dates of closed theatres for the other reigns and the total numbers of plague deaths for the years concerned are as follows:—

Year.	Plague Deaths over Forty.	Total Plague Deaths for the Year.
1603	June 9–Dec. 22	30,561
1606	July 17–Dec. 4	2,124
1607	July 23–Nov. 19	2,352
1608	July 28–Dec. 22	2,262
1609	Dec. 20–Nov. 30	4,240
1610	July 12–Nov. 22	1,803
1625	May 12–Nov. 17	35,417
1630	July 8–Oct. 21	1,317
[1631	May–June 10	no bill extant]
1636	May 12–Dec. 15	10,400
1637	Dec. 22–Aug. 17	3,082
1640	July 23–Oct. 22	1,450
1641	July 15–Dec. 2	3,607
1642	Aug. 11–Nov. 3	1,824

[1] There was also a great plague in 1563. Deaths in the City 20,372, of which 17,404 of the plague; in the out parishes 3283 deaths, of which 2732 of the plague. No term kept ("Stow," p. 656).

I have found it necessary so often to refer to our annals for dearths, comets, floods, frosts, &c., in order to determine dates of plays and the like, that I make no apology for inserting the following list compiled from "Stow." I prefer this course to extracting more complete data from modern authors, because what is wanted is not scientific accuracy, but a statement of what had greatest effect on the popular mind; and the old annalist did not omit much material of that sort.

References to Stow for Weather, Dearth, &c.

Date.	Fact.	Stow.
1561.	Wheat scarce; imported from beyond seas.	647 a
1563. July 8.	Great tempest. Lightning.	657 a
1563. Dec. 1–12.	Continual lightning and thunder.	657 a
1564. Sep. 20.	Floods in the Thames.	657 b
1564. Oct. 7.	Aurora Borealis in London.	658 b
1564. Dec. 21.	Great frost began; Thames frozen till 3rd Jan.	658 b
1565. Dec. 24.	Floods; Thames; storm.	659 b
1567.	Dry summer; sharp winter; hay scarce.	662 a
1571. Oct. 5.	Floods.	667 b
1572. Nov. 18.	Strange star in Cassiopeia.	673 b
1572. Nov. 1.	Great frost till Jan.	674 a
1574. Aug 1.	Wheat 3s. a bushel, rose to 7s. before Christmas, and continued so long after. "Dearth without scarcity of meat, salt," &c.	678 a
1579. Apr. 24.	Snow a foot deep in London.	685 b
1579. Sep.	Great floods.	686 b
1580. Apr. 6.	The earthquake.	687 a
1580. Oct. 10.	A blazing star.	688 a
1580. Nov. 1.	Plague of mice in Essex.	689 a
1582. May 15.	A blazing star.	695 b
1582. Aug. 12.	Tempest in Norfolk.	695 b
1587. Jan.	Proclamation against exportation of corn; relief of the poor; wheat 8s. to 13s. Dearth in 1586.	742 a
1588.	Prophecy of this year.	749 a
1589. Jan. 1.	Tempest of wind.	751 b
1589. Aug. 1.	Greatest lightning and thunder in memory of man.	757 a
1590. Jan. 5.	Tempest of wind in London.	760 b
1592. Sep. 6.	Thames low: a collier on a mare swam across it.	765 a
1594. Mar.	Overthrow of trees by wind. Apr. 14, great rain.	767 a
1594. May.	Great floods. June, July, Sep., still greater floods; dearth; wheat 6s. to 8s.; grain exported.	768–9
1595.	Wheat 14s. to 26s. 8d. in consequence of exportation. Rye imported from Danske. Butter 7d.; eggs 1d.	769 a
1596.	Dearth; wheat 10s., rye 6s., oatmeal 8s. Rain and floods.	783 a
1596. Aug.	Wheat fell from 13s. to 10s.; rye from 9s. to 3s. 2d.; then rose again to its highest price.	785 b
1598. Sep. 5.	Lightning; great storm.	788 a
1598. Dec.	Great frost; Thames frozen over. Dec. 28, great snow. Jan. 1, thaw.	788 a
1599.	March to May, cold and dry. June 4, rain and floods. June to July, hot and dry.	788 b
1599. Dec. 23.	Great winds.	789 b
1600. Apr. 4.	Great snow. 23-31 March, extreme cold. April-May, cold and dry. Wheat rose from 3s. to 8s. Proclamation against engrossers and forestallers.	790 a

Date.	Fact.	Stow.
1601. Feb.	Great tempest of wind.	792 a
1601. Xmas.	Lightning and earthquake.	797 b
1602. Jun. 30.	Lightning and hail.	812 b
1604. Aug. 3.	Great rain and hail.	844 b
1606. Jan. 19.	Whale at London Bridge.	881 b
1606. Mar. 30.	Great winds and floods.	883 a
1607. Jan. 20.	Great flood, "the second Deluge."	889 a
1607. Dec. 8.	Great frost till Feb. 1; Thames frozen over from Dec. 30 to Jan. 15.	891 b
1608. Feb. 19.	Shifting of the tide in Thames; and so 1609, Feb. 6.	893 a
1610.	Granaries built to prevent dearth for corn and coal.	996 b
1612.	Great winds and storms Oct.–Dec. Rain and floods next spring. But good harvest, and no dearth.	1002 b
1612.	Summer dry; hay scarce. Lent 1613 strictly kept; dearth of fish and flesh feared, but fish plentiful.	1004 a
1613.	Inundations; sea entered Lincolnshire twelve miles.	1004 a
1615. Jan. 17.	Great frost and snow till March 17; "the cold year."	1023 a
1618. Mar. 7.	Meteor in Paris burns the Records; fires in England.	1029 a
1618. Nov. 18.	Blazing star till Dec. 16.	1030 b
1621. Nov.	Thames frozen over from Nov. (last week) to Dec. (first week); then very mild; Thames frozen over again Jan. 20–Feb. 12.	1034 a
1623. Jan. 3.	The Thames shifted 4 tides in 5 hours.	1035 a
1626. June 12.	Whirlwinds and tempest on Thames.	1042 a
1627. Aug. 13.	Grampus at Woolwich.	1043 a
1628. Apr. 9.	Strange tempest near Hartford.	1043 a
1629. Oct. 22.	Thames overflowed its banks.	1045 a

CHAPTER IV.

SECTION A.

INTRODUCTION (1603–1613).

On the accession of James all the men's companies were taken under the patronage of the Royal Family, and the children's companies not long after; so that the Prince of Wales in 1607 had a company of his own, and the King and Queen two each—one of men, the other of children. The two children's companies were soon finally suppressed and replaced by players patronised by the Duke of York and the Lady Elizabeth; so that, reckoning the Palsgrave, who adopted Prince Henry's men at his death, as one of the Royal Family, all London companies were withdrawn from the service of individual noblemen and entered into what was really one Royal service, subdivided in name, but still members of one body known as the Five Companies, who enjoyed a quasi-monopoly of the metropolitan stage. The change in the nature of the plays performed is most marked. Shakespeare wrote no more romantic plays or histories, only tragedies and tragi-comedies. Chapman's comedies of the Elizabethan time differ still more palpably from his Jacobean tragedies, while within the range of comedy itself nothing can be more distinct than Jonson's comical satires of the last reign and his masterpieces, Volpone, The Alchemist, and Epicene, of the new one. His tragedies all belong to this period, and so do those of the greatest names next to Shakespeare, Webster and Beaumont, who immediately succeeded him. In this period our tragedy reached its high-water mark, while its comedy was, as shown in the works

of Jonson, Beaumont, and Fletcher, only inferior to that of the time immediately preceding. Fletcher also created the Pastoral, which, though supported by Jonson, never took firm root in England; indeed, his Faithful Shepherdess was damned on the public stage, and Jonson's May Lord (which is the same as The Sad Shepherd) was never acted. To Jonson also must be assigned the pre-eminent place in the development of those Court Masks which, by the introduction of movable scenes and female actors, paved the way for the revolutionary changes introduced into the post-Restoration drama. All this Court influence makes it a comparatively easy matter to distinguish a Jacobean from an Elizabethan play. A great help to this kind of criticism will also be obtained by the consideration that the statute against profanity was passed in the third year of James. All plays after this date were subjected to the personal examination of the Master of the Revels; and it will be found, on reference to the "Stationers' Registers," that from 1607 to 1637 all licenses for printing stage plays were granted under his hand or his deputy's. Up to 1606 such licenses from the Master of the Revels had been exceptional; then they became the rule, from which hardly any exception was allowed. Despite, however, of the factitious equality established among the players by Court patronage, the King's men, in virtue of their great playwright, Shakespeare, and still more in virtue of their great actor Burbadge, still maintained an easy supremacy. After the closing of the Rose in 1603 they had the Bankside to themselves; and after their resuming Blackfriars at the close of 1609 they possessed the only play-place within the City; their rivals were only in possession of the liberties outside the walls on the north of the Thames. Moreover, great actors always draw better than great plays, and there was no actor who could compete with Burbadge. Field made a good stand against him, first, for the Revels children, and afterwards for the Lady Elizabeth's men; but Alleyn had retired as early as 1597, and Field as yet was very young and immature. Thomas Greene, at the Bull, attracted the populace by his buffoonery; but the time of Tarlton and Kempe clowneries and jigs had

passed for the wealthy fashionables. Armin, moreover, who was nearly as popular a fool as Greene, was acting at the King's. As to the other companies, they got on as they best might. Chapman's tragedies and Middleton's comedies for the Queen's Revels and Paul's boys; Webster's tragedies and Dekker's comedies at the Queen's; above all, Jonson's and Shakespeare's plays for the King's men, were powerfully attractive; but Day and Sharpham and Mason and Barry, and the rest of the rabble rout at the King's Revels, had no hold on the public. Neither this boys' company nor its men successor, the Duke of York's, could at this time score any marked success.

I may perhaps at this point note how greatly the playwrights who were also actors excelled the gentlemen authors. Passing over the pre-Shakespearian period—for although we know that Greene, Peele, and Wilson, were actors, this is not the place to discuss the doubtful points of Lodge's or Marlowe's careers—we have first on the actor-poet list Shakespeare, more than enough to counterpoise all the rest; then Jonson, the second greatest name in our annals; then Heywood, Field, Rowley, Armin, Monday. On the other side are great names also: Beaumont, Fletcher, Webster, Massinger, Shirley, Chapman, and many others, all great as poets, but none (except Massinger perhaps) equal to even the lesser men in the other list in that undefinable quality which separates the acting play from the drama for closet reading; the quality which makes Goldsmith and Sheridan successful, but the want of which condemns Henry Taylor, Browning, and Shelley to remain the delight, not of the crowd, but of the solitary student. My opinion in this matter is no doubt open to much qualification, but there is in connexion with it one fact beyond dispute, viz., all actor-poets of any great note began their theatrical careers before the accession of James.

I now pass to a very different matter, but one that has met with scant recognition. During part of every year from 1606 to 1610 the Plague deaths exceeded forty per week, and the theatres were consequently closed for at least five months in the year; on one occasion, 1608–9, for seventeen months con-

tinuously. Not only must this have seriously injured the prosperity of the players, but it must have caused a great diminution in the production of new plays, a matter not taken into account at all by the critics. Shakespeare, for instance, only produced one play per year during this time, but always two either new or reformed plays from 1594 to 1605. This induces me to propose a slightly modified scheme for the arrangement of his plays, thus:—

1st Period: plays originally written in conjunction with other men before the great Plague of 1593, but afterwards refashioned by himself alone.

2nd Period: plays written by him between the great Plagues of 1593 and 1603.

3rd Period: plays between the Plagues of 1603 and 1608.

4th Period: plays between 1608 and 1611.

Practically this agrees with the scheme advanced by me elsewhere; but the connexion with the Plague years is a help to the memory at least, and, I think, more than an accidental coincidence.

I have yet to notice the important changes produced in the distribution of the companies by the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth in 1613. So eager were this Royal Family to connect themselves with stage patronage that Prince Henry became patron of a company as Prince of Wales at the age of nine. As soon as Prince Charles arrived at the same age he took players into his service, and on reaching nubility the Princess Elizabeth, then just fifteen, was given an association, although this arrangement introduced (for eighteen months only) a company beyond the normal number, and necessitated the use of a theatre, the Swan, otherwise only occupied by fencers and the like. But the death of Prince Henry in 1612 and the marriage of Her Highness in 1613 required a readjustment of this arrangement. This was obtained by abolishing the children's company of the Revels, thus reducing the number to the normal five, and transferring Prince Henry's to the Palsgrave. But the influence of this event on theatrical matters extended beyond the mere rearrangement of

the companies; the unwonted number and splendour of the Masks gave a great impulse to the production of that kind of entertainment, not only in its separate form at Court, but as an integral though less complex portion of the plays acted on the public stage. The introduction of dances and music, both vocal and instrumental, in plays at and after this time is as conspicuous as that of Masks. Many plays of older date, when revived at Court, henceforth were altered in accordance with this prevailing taste, and those who are acquainted with the subsequent history of the drama will readily recognise in the introduction of Hecate in Macbeth, and of the Mask in the Tempest, instances of this kind of alteration. Abundance of other examples will occur in the careers of Shakespeare's successors. Even in our day this innovation still prevails, and I doubt if any manager would be bold enough to expunge the incidental music from Macbeth or Midsummer Night's Dream. I am sure that no popular audience would be attracted by Shakespeare's poetry or Irving's acting were it not for the subsidiary aids of scenery, upholstery, splendid dress, and euphonious melody.

SECTION B.

COURT PERFORMANCES (1603–1614).

a. PLAYS.

1603. Dec. 2.—To John Hemyngs on 3rd Dec. for a play before the King by the King's men at Wilton, and for coming from Mortlake in Surrey, £30 (usual fee, £10). Wilton was the seat of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

1603. Dec. 26, 27, 28; Jan. 1.—To John Hemings on 18th Jan. 1604 for 4 plays before the King by the King's men on St. Stephen's, St. John's, Innocent's, and New Year's days; and

1603. Dec. 30, Jan. 1 [in the daytime], for 2 plays before the Prince. The plays before the Prince were paid less than the

others, viz., £6, 13s. 4d. each (20 nobles), without the additional £3, 6s. 8d. (5 marks) by way of His Majesty's reward.

1604. Jan. 21.—To Edward Allen and Edward Juby on 19th Feb. for a play before the King by the Prince's men; and

1604. Jan. 4, 15, 22, for 3 plays before the Prince.

1604. Jan. 2, 13.—To John Duke on 19th Feb. for 2 plays by the Queen's men before the Prince.

1604.—Feb. 2, 18.—To John Hemyng on 28th Feb. for 2 plays before the King by the King's men on Candlemas and Shrove Sunday.

1604. Feb. 19.—To E. Juby [note that Allen's name does not appear henceforward] on 17th April for a play before the King by the Prince's men on Shrove Monday.

1604. Feb. 20.—To Philip Henslow on 18th April for Bear-baiting [with bears from Paris Garden] before the King at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday [in the daytime].

1604. Feb. 20.—To Edward Kirkham, Master of the children of the Queen's Majesty's Revels, on 30th April for a play before the King by these boys.

1604. Nov. 23.—To E. Juby on 10th Dec. for a play before the Queen by the Prince's men; and

1604. Nov. 24, for one before the Prince.

1604. Nov. 1, 4; Dec. 26, 28; Jan. 7, 8.—To. J. Hemynges on 21st Jan. 1605 for 6 plays before the King by the King's men on All Saints', the Sunday following (4th Nov.), St. Stephen's, Innocents', and 7th, 8th Jan.

1604. Dec. 30.—To J. Duke on 19th Feb. 1605 for 1 play before the King by the Queen's men on Sunday, 30th Dec.

1604. Dec. 14, 19; Jan. 15, 22; Feb. 5, 19.—To E. Juby on 22nd Feb. 1605 for 6 plays before the Prince by the Prince's men.

1605. Jan. 1, 3.—To Samuel Daniel and Henry Evans on 24th Feb. for 2 plays before the King by the Queen's Revels children. [Kirkham's name does not appear here; this is the last appearance of this company at Court. A list, forged, but undoubtedly based on a genuine document which was used by

Malone, of the plays at Court this season exists, and was published in the "Revels Accounts" for the Sh. Soc. by Mr. P. Cunningham. I abstract it here.]

1604. Nov. 1.—King's men. The Moor of Venice [by Shakespeare].

1604. Nov. 4.—King's men. The Merry Wives of Windsor [by Shakespeare].

1604. Dec. 26.—King's men. Measure for Measure, by "Shaxberd."

1604. Dec. 27.—King's men. Mask at the marriage of Sir Ed. Herbert and Lady Susan Vere.

1604. Dec. 28.—King's men. The Play of Errors, by "Shaxberd."

1604. Dec. 30.—Queen's men. How to learn of a woman to woo, by Heywood.

1605. Jan. 1.—Chapel boys. All Fools, by Chapman.

1605. [Jan. 4].—King's men. Love's Labour's Lost [by Shakespeare]; "between New Year and Twelfth Day."

1605. Jan. 6.—King's men. Queen's Mask of Moors [Blackness, by Jonson].

1605. Jan. 7.—King's men. Henry 5 [by Shakespeare].

1605. Jan. 8.—King's men. Every one out of his Humor [by Jonson].

1605. Feb. 2.—King's men. Every one in his Humour [by Jonson].

1605. Feb. 3.—King's men. "A play provided and discharged" [Sunday].

1605. Feb. 10.—King's men. The Merchant of Venice, by "Shaxberd."

1605. Feb. 11.—The King's men. "The Spanish Maz."

1605. Feb. 12.—The King's men. The Merchant of Venice again; commanded by the King [7 plays by Shakespeare, 2 by Jonson, 1 by Heywood, 1 by Chapman, 2 masks].

1605. Feb. 2, 10, 11, 12.—To J. Hemyngs on 24th Feb. for 4 plays before the King by the King's men on Candlemas, Shrove Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday.

1605. Feb. 3.—To J. Hemyngs on 28th April for 1 play before the King by the King's men on 3rd Feb.

1605–6. [ ].—To J. Hemings on 24th Mar. 1606 for 10 plays by the King's men before the King [Mucedorus on Shrove Sunday being one].

1605–6. [ ].[1]—To Ed. Kirkham, "one of the Masters of the Children of Paul's" [he was Master of the Chapel children in February 1604], on 31st Mar. for 2 plays before the Prince and the Duke of York by those boys. [The Paul's boys act now, not the Chapel boys. Only one boys' company at once appears at Court at any Christmas in James' time.]

1605. Dec. 27.—To J. Duke on 30th April 1606 for one play before the King by the Queen's men on St. John's day. Paid £5 instead of £6, 13s. 4d. as usual; but the King's reward, £3, 6s. 8d., in the ordinary way.

1605–6. [ ].—To E. Juby on 30th April for 3 plays before the King by the Prince's men; and for 3 before the Prince.

1606. [July].—To J. Hemyngs on 18th Oct. for 3 plays before His Majesty and the King of Denmark; 2 at Greenwich, one at Hampton Court.

1606–7. [ ].—To E. Juby on 28th Feb. 1607 for 6 plays [before the King] by the Prince's players in Dec., Jan., Feb. 1606. [I suspect this entry. It is inserted before the payment to Juby on 30th April, and does not state before whom the plays were presented; but the payment includes a "King's reward," which also is unspecified.]

1606.[2] Dec. 26 (Lear), 29; Jan. 4, 6, 8; Feb. 2, 5, 15, 27. —On 30th Mar. 1607 for 9 plays by the King's men before the King, £24, 10s. 4d. A curious amount.

[1] On 30th July 1606 these Paul's boys presented "Abuses," containing both a comedy and a tragedy, "before the two Kings," to their delight. See Nichols, iv. 1074. No payment entry for this play has been discovered.

[2] Alexander 6 (of course, Roderic Borgia, the Pope), a tragedy, was entered S. R. 16th October 1607 as played before His Majesty. This was probably presented some time at Christmas 1606–7. Anything more conclusive than Mr. Halliwell's confusion of this Alexander with Alexander the Great, in the way of determining that gentleman's position as a literary and historical guide, cannot well be imagined. See his "Dictionary of Old Plays," p. 9.

1607. Dec. 26, 27, 28; Jan. 2, 6, 7, 9, 17, 26; Feb. 2, 6.—To J. Hemyngs on 8th Feb. 1608 for 13 plays by the King's men before the King at Whitehall; on St. Stephen's, St. John's, Childermas, 2nd Jan., Twelfth Night (2 plays), Jan. 7, 9, 17 (2 plays), 26, Candlemas, and Shrove Sunday.

1607–8. [ ].—To E. Juby on 8th May 1608 for 4 plays before the King and the Prince at Whitehall by the Prince's men in Nov., Dec., Jan.

1608–9. [ ].—To J. Hemings on 5th April 1609 for 12 plays before the King, Queen, Prince, and Duke of York by the King's men at Christmas.

1608–9. [ ].—To E. Juby on 5th April 1609 for 3 plays before the King and the Prince by the Prince's players.

1609–10. [No plays before the King or Queen on account of the Plague.]

1610–11. [ ].—To J. Hemyngs on 12 Feb. 1611 for 15 plays before the King, Queen, and Prince by the King's men.

1610–11. [ ].—To Thomas Green on 18th Mar. 1611 for 3 plays before the King and Prince by the Queen's men.

1610–11. [ ].—To E. Juby on 20th Mar. for 4 plays before the King by the Prince's men.

1612. Feb. 25.—To Alexander Foster on 1st April for the Proud Maid before the King by the Lady Elizabeth's men on Shrove Tuesday.

1611. Oct. 31; Nov. 1, 5; Dec. 26; Jan. 5; Feb. 23 (Shrove Sunday).—To J. Hemyngs on 1st June 1612 for 6 plays by the King's men before the King; and

1611. Nov. 9, 19; Dec. 16, 31; Jan. 7, 15; Feb. 19, 20 (?), 28; Apr. 3, 16, for 12 plays (one date omitted) before the Prince and the Duke of York; and

1611. Feb. 9, 20 (?); Mar. 28; Apr. 26, for 4 plays before the Prince, the Lady Elizabeth, and the Duke of York.

[A list of the plays performed at Court 1611–12 is given in Mr. P. Cunningham's "Revels Accounts," p. 210. It is the most glaringly impudent of the many forgeries published by Cunningham and Collier, and, as usual, in these cases is endorsed by

Halliwell. I have been severely blamed for speaking plainly of the procedures of this triad of worthies. I wish those who blame may not waste years of work, as I have done, in unravelling their tangled webs of deceit. Short of appropriating national property by cutting out title-pages from Museum books, I know of nothing more discreditable than the forgeries published by two chief luminaries of the Shakespeare Society, or more blameworthy than the support given to them by a third. In this instance the list omits the play on the 28th December by the Prince's men, inserts (from 1612–13) the Twins' Tragedy by the King's men on January 1 (a night when they did not perform), puts in on January 5 a play by the children of Whitefriars (although the King's men acted that night), and on February 24 Hymen's Holiday by the Duke of York's men (who did not act then, and never before the King), and worst of all, on 12th January (when the Duke of York's men did act) introduces the King's men and the Queen's (who did not act that day) as combining in the production of Heywood's Silver Age. All this is so inexpressibly clumsy that Collier could have had no share in it. It took in Halliwell, but he knew very little of stage history outside Shakespeare's career.]

1611. Dec. 27, Feb. 2.—To T. Greene on 18th June 1612 for 2 plays before the King and Queen by the Queen's men; and

1612. Jan. 16, 23, for 2 plays before the Prince and the Lady Elizabeth.

1611. Dec. 28, 29.—To E. Juby on 18th June 1612 for 2 plays by the Prince's men before the King; and

1612. Feb. 5, 29, for 2 plays before the Prince.

1612. Jan. 12, 28; Feb. 13, 18.—To William Rowley on 20th June 1612 for 4 plays by the Duke of York's men before the Prince, Duke of York, and Lady Elizabeth.

1610. Feb. 9; Dec. 12, 20; 1611. Jan. 15.—To W. Rowley on 20th Jan. 1613 for 4 plays by the Duke of York's men before the Prince, Duke of York, and Lady Elizabeth. [A puzzling entry: payment delayed for 2 years, and one play in Feb. 1610, during the Plague, when no other companies acted.]

1612. Oct. 20.—The Lady Elizabeth's men acted before her and the Palsgrave (Nichols, ii. 466).

1612 [Oct.].—To Philip Rossiter on 24th Nov. for a play by the Children of the Chapel [2 Queen's Revels] before the Prince [Henry, between the Palsgrave's arrival, 16th Oct., and Henry's fatal illness, 24th Oct. He died 6th Nov.], Lady Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine. The Coxcomb, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

1613. [Jan. 9, Feb. 20].—To Philip Rossiter on 31st May 1613 for 2 more plays. [The Widow's Tears (by Chapman) on Feb. 20, and Cupid's Revenge (by B. and Fl., altered by Field) on Jan. 9.]

1612–13. [ ].—To E. Juby on 31st Mar. 1613 for a play by the Palatines [formerly Prince Henry's men] before the Lady Elizabeth.

1612–13. [ ].—To J. Hemings on 19th May 1613 for 8 plays by the King's men before the King. [The Captain, by Fletcher and Beaumont, one of these. It was much altered later for a revival.]

1613. [Mar. 2, 5].—To W. Rowley on 7th June 1613 for 2 plays by the Prince [Charles, formerly the Duke of York]'s men before the Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth [1, 2 The Knaves].

1613. [Feb. 20, Mar. 1].—To Joseph Taylor on 28th June 1613 for 2 plays by the Lady Elizabeth's men before the Palatine and Lady Elizabeth [Cockledemoy (Dutch Courtesan by Marston) and Raymond Duke of Lyons].

1613. June 8.—To J. Hemyngs on 9th July 1613 for a play before the Duke of Savoy's ambassador on 8th June by the King's men [Cardenna].

1612–13. [ ].—To J. Hemyngs on 20th May 1613 for 14 plays by the King's men before Prince [Charles], Lady Elizabeth, and the Palatine [Philaster (by Beaumont and Fletcher), The Knot of Fools, Much Ado about Nothing (by Sh.), The Maid's Tragedy (by B. and F.), The Merry Devil of Edmonton [by Drayton], The Tempest (by Sh.), A King and no King (by B. and F.) The Twins' Tragedy, The Winter's Tale (by Sh.), Sir John Falstaff (Merry Wives of Windsor, by Sh.), The Moor of Venice

(Othello, by Sh.), The Nobleman (by Cyril Turner), Cæsar's Tragedy (Julius Cæsar, by Sh.), and Love lies a bleeding (Philaster). The names of the plays in these entries are from a copy of the Virtue MS. by Haslewood. See "Sh. Soc. Papers," ii. 124]; and

For 6 plays before the King [A bad beginning makes a good ending (Query, All's Well that Ends Well. The date is far too early for a play by Ford, to whom it is generally attributed), The Captain (by B. and Fl., but in its present shape much altered by a third hand), The Alchemist (by Jonson), Cardenno (Cardenas, the original form of Beaumont and Fletcher's Love's Pilgrimage, before Jonson altered it), The Hotspur (1 Henry 4, by Sh.), and Benedicte and Bettris (Much Ado about Nothing), by Sh.].

1613. Nov. 4, 16; Jan. 10; Feb. 4, 8, 10, 18.—To J. Hemyngs on 21st June 1614 for 7 plays by the King's men before the Prince's highness.

1613. Nov.–Mar.—To J. Heminges on 21st June 1614 for 9 plays by the King's men before the King.

1613. Dec. 28, Jan. 5.—To R. Lee on 21st June 1614 for 2 plays before the King by the Queen's men [T. Greene died 1612, and the Queen's men did not appear at Court 1612–13].

[1613, not 1613–14]. Jan. 1.—To P. Rossiter for Cupid's Revenge before the King [by the 2 Queen's Revels children] (Virtue MS.).

1613. Dec. 12.—To J. Taylor 21st June 1614 for [The Dutch Courtesan before the Prince by the Lady Elizabeth's men; and

1614. Jan. 25, for Eastward Ho! before the King.

As the entries of payments for Court Performances fail us after 1618, and only one or two items extend beyond the date of this chapter, I have included in the following table all the performance dates now left over that are to be found in P. Cunningham's "Revels at Court;" a valuable book, notwithstanding its forgeries for the years 1604–5 and 1611–12 and a few gross inaccuracies.

COURT PERFORMANCES (1603–1618).

KING'S.	PRINCE'S.	QUEEN'S.	1 QUEEN'S REVELS.	PARIS GARDEN.
1603, Dec. 2. J.				
,, Dec. 26. J.				
,, Dec. 27, J.				
,, Dec. 28, J.	1604, Jan. 4, H.			
,, Dec. 30, H.	,, Jan. 15, H.			
1604, Jan. 1, H.	,, Jan. 21, J.	1604, Jan. 2, H.	1604, Feb. 20, J.	1604, Feb. 20, J.
,, Feb. 2, J.	,, Jan. 22, H.	,, Jan. 13, H.		(Bear-baiting).
,, Feb. 18, J.	,, Feb. 19, J.			
1604, Nov. 1, J.	1604, Nov. 23, A.	[The Fair Maid of Bristol was one of the 1603–4 plays presented by the King's men at Hampton Court before the King and Queen.]		
(? Moor of V.).	,, Nov. 24, H.			
,, Nov. 4, J.	,, Dec. 14, H.			
(Merry Wives).	,, Dec. 19, H.	1604, Dec. 30, J.		
,, Dec. 26, J.	1605, Jan. 15, H.	(? How to learn,	1605, Jan. 1, J.	
(Measure for M.).	,, Jan. 22, H.	&c.).	(? All Fools).	
,, Dec. 28, J.	,, Feb. 5, H.		,, Jan. 3, J.	
(Errors).	,, Feb. 19, H.			
1605, ? Jan. 2–6, J.				
(? Love's L. Lost).				
,, Jan. 7, J.	[The play names 1604–5, are from a forged document published by Cunningham, "Revels," p. 203, and wherever not confirmed by Malone's genuine extracts I have marked the play with a ?. The independent confirmation of the title-page in the case of All Fools, and of Cope's letter to Cranbourne, Halliwell, p. 515, in that of Love's Labour's Lost, shows that the forger had access to accurate sources of information. But his omission of a play name for 1605, Jan. 3, also shows that these were not such a document as he pretends to produce; so that the entries of the Moor of Venice, The Spanish Maz, and How to learn of a woman to woo are as yet very dubious. I at present incline to the view that Cunningham's forged document was based on some copy of an authentic original—perhaps Malone's copy.]			
(Henry 5).				
,, Jan. 8, J.				
(? E. out of his Humour).				
,, Feb. 2, J.				
(? E. in his Humour).				
,, Feb. 3, J.				
(? play discharged).				
,, Feb. 10, J.				
(Merchant of V.).				
,, Feb. 11, J.				
(? Spanish Maz).				
,, Feb. 12, J.				
(Merchant of V.).				PAUL'S.
1605–6.	1605–6,	1605, Dec. 27 [A.]		1606, Jan. 1,
,, 10 plays, J.	3 pl., J.; 3 pl., H.			H. C.
(Mucedorus).				(Trick to catch
1606, July 16–Aug. 11.				the old one).
,, 3 plays, J. D.				,, [Jan.] H. C.
1606, Dec. 26, J.	1606–7,			(Phœnix).
(Lear).	6 plays, J.			1606, July 30,
,, Dec. 29, J.				J. D.,
1607, Jan. 4, J.				(Abuses).
,, Jan. 6, J.				
,, Jan. 8, J.				
,, Feb. 2, J.				
(Devil's Charter).				
,, Feb. 5, J.				
,, Feb. 15, J.				
,, Feb. 27, J.				
1607, Dec. 26, J.	1607–8,			
,, Dec. 27, J.	4 plays, J. H.			
,, Dec. 28, J.				
1608, Jan. 2, J.				
,, Jan. 6, J.				
(2 plays).				
,, Jan. 7, J.				
,, Jan. 9, J.				
,, Jan. 17, J.				
(2 plays).				
,, Jan. 26, J.				
,, Feb. 2, J.				
,, Feb. 6, J.				

COURT PERFORMANCES—Continued.

King's.	Prince's.	Queen's.	1 Queen's Revels.	Duke of York's.
1608–9, 12 plays, J. A. H. C.	1608–9, 3 plays, J. H.			1610, Feb. 9, H. C. E.
1610–11, 15 plays, J. A. H.	1610–11, 4 plays, J.	1610–11, 3 plays, J. H.		1610, Dec. 12, H. C. E.
1611, Oct. 31, J. (? Tempest).	1611, Dec. 28, J.	1611, Dec. 27, J. A.		,, Dec. 20, H. C. E.
,, Nov. 1, J.	,, Dec. 29, J. (? Almanac).	(? City Gallant).		1611, Jan. 15, H. C. E.
,, Nov. 5, J. (? Winter's Tale).	[The play names 1611–12 are from a forged document published with that for 1604–5. No names are given for Nov. 1, Dec. 28. Only plays presented to the King are noticed in this document, which, though much less than that for 1604–5, seems to have had some slight genuine basis, but not the one pretended.]			
,, Nov. 9, H. C.				
,, Nov. 19, H. C.				
,, Dec. 16, H. C.				
,, Dec. 26, J. (? King and no King).				
,, Dec. 31, H. C. (? Twins' Tragedy).				
1612, Jan. 5, J.	1612, Feb. 5, H.	1612, Jan. 16, H. E.	1 L. Elizabeth's.	1612, Jan. 12, H. C. E.
,, Jan. 7, H. C.	,, Feb. 29, H.	,, Jan. 23, H. E.	1612, Jan. [5], H. E. (? Cupid's Revenge).	,, Jan. 28, H. C. E.
,, Jan. 15, H. C.	[,, Jan. 6, Princes' Mask.]	,, Feb. 2, J. A. (? Tu Quoque).	,, Feb. 25, J. (? Proud Maid's T.).	,, Feb. 13, H. C. E.
,, Feb. 9, E. C.		[,, Jan. 12, A. H. (? Silver Age).	,, Mar. [ ], H. E.	,, Feb. 18, H. C. E.
,, Feb. 19, H. C.		,, Jan. 13, A. H. (? Lucretia), with the King's men at Greenwich. There is no payment entry to correspond, and for Jan. 12 see Prince's column].	Chapel [2 Q. R.].	,, Feb. 24, (? Hymen's Holiday). [No entry of payment for 24th Feb.].
,, Feb. 20, H. C.			1612, Oct. E. P. (Coxcomb).	
,, Feb. 20, H.			1613, Jan. 1, J. (Cupid's Revenge).	
,, Feb. 23, J. (? Nobleman).			1613, [Jan.] J. (Coxcomb).	
,, Feb. 28, H. C.			,, Jan. 9, C. (Cupid's Revenge).	
,, Mar. 28, E.			,, Feb. 20, C. (Widow's Tears).	
,, Apr. 3, H. C.				
,, Apr. 16, H. C.				
,, Apr. 26, E.				
,, June 8, Amb. (Cardenna).				
	Palatine's.		2 L. Elizabeth's.	P. Charles'.
1612–13, 8 plays, J.	1612–13, 1 play, E.		1612–13, 2 plays, C. P. E. (Cockledemoy; Raymond, D. of Lyons).	1613, Mar. 2, C. P. E., 1 Knaves.
14 pls., H. P. E.				,, Mar. 5, C. P. E. 2 Knaves.
6 plays, J.				
1613, Nov. 4, C.			1613, Dec. 12, C. (Dutch Courtesan).	
,, Nov. 16, C.		1613, Dec. 28, J.		
1614, Jan. 10, C.		1614, Jan. 5, J.	1614, Jan. 25, J. (Eastward Ho!).	
,, Feb. 4, C.			1614, Nov. 1), J. (Bartholomew Fair).	
,, Feb. 8, C.				
,, Feb. 10, C.			1617, Mar.–July, J., 3 plays.	
,, Feb. 18, C.				
1613–14, J., 9 plays.				
1618, Apr. 6, J. (Twelfth Night).	[During journey to Scotland: the players who were the Lady Elizabeth's men were called in Scotland by their old name, "The Children of the Chapel."]			
,, Apr. 7, J. (Winter's Tale).				
,, May 3, J. (Merry Devil of E.).				

N.B.—The "14 plays" of 1612–13 were (1) Philaster; (2) The Knot of Fools; (3) Much Ado about Nothing; (4) The Maid's Tragedy; (5) The Merry Devil of Edmonton; (6) The Tempest; (7) A King and no King; (8) The Twins' Tragedy; (9) The Winter's Tale; (10) Sir John Falstaff; (11) The Moor of Venice; (12) The Nobleman; (13) Cæsar's Tragedy; (14) Love lies a bleeding. The "6 plays" were (1) A bad beginning makes a good ending; (2) The Captain; (3) The Alchemist; (4) Cardenno; (5) Hotspur; (6) Benedict and Bettris. See "Shakespeare Society Papers," ii. 123.

This table is especially valuable as showing the relative importance of the companies. The King's (who presented two-thirds of these plays) stands far first; then Prince Henry's (about two-ninths), a bad second; the remaining ninth is about equally distributed in the three other columns. The inferior companies come far behind in the running.

The capital letters appended to the dates have the following significations: (J.) King James; (A.) Queen Anne; (H.) Prince Henry; (C.) Prince Charles; (E.) Princess Elizabeth; (P.) The Elector Palatine; (D.) The King of Denmark.

b. Masks.

1603. June 25.—Jonson. Entertainment of the Queen and Prince at Althorpe at Lord Spenser's [The Satyr].

1603. Oct. [9–17].—The Queen entertained the Prince with a gallant Mask at Winchester (Nichols, I. 291).

1604. Jan. 8.—Daniel. The Vision of the 12 Goddesses was presented at Hampton Court by the Queen and her Ladies.

1604. Mar. 15.—Jonson (S. R., March 19) and Dekker and Middleton (S. R., April 2). The Entertainment to the King, Queen, and Prince passing through London to the Coronation. Jonson's and Dekker's parts were published separately, and a third account was entered for T. Pavier (S. R., 21st March).

1604. May 1.—Jonson. An entertainment of the King and Queen at Sir William Cornwallis' house at Highgate [The Penates].

1604. Dec. 27.—A Mask at Whitehall by the Court Noblemen at the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and Lady Susan Vere.

1605. Jan. 6.—Jonson and Inigo Jones. The Mask of Blackness presented by the Queen and her ladies at Whitehall.

1605. Aug. 30.—Daniel. Arcadia Reformed or the Queen's Arcadia was presented to Her Majesty and her ladies by the Oxford University at Christ Church. [On 27th August, Alba, a pastoral; 28th August, Ajax Flagellifer; 29th August, Ver-

tumnus by Gwynne had been acted.] This is rather a play than a Mask, but I insert it here to keep all the Jonson and Daniel presentations together.

1606. Jan. 6.—Jonson and I. Jones. The Mask of Hymen (Hymenæi) with Barriers on 7th Jan. at the marriage of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, and the Lady Frances Howard, second daughter of the Earl of Suffolk.

1606. July 24.—Jonson. Entertainment of the Kings of Denmark and Great Britain at Theobald's. [Further accounts of the King of Denmark's reception and farewell by H. Roberts are given in Nichols, ii. 73, 87.]

1607. Jan. 6.—Thomas Campion, Doctor of Physic. A Mask at Whitehall before the King in honour of the marriage of Lord James Hay and Anna, sole daughter and heir of Edward Lord Denny.

1607. May 22.—Jonson. An entertainment to the King and Queen at Theobald's, when it was delivered up to the Queen by the Earl of Salisbury [in exchange for Hatfield]. Prince Joinville, brother to the Duke of Guise, being present.

1607. July 16.—Jonson. A speech by a child "clothed like an angel of gladness" of 18 verses was delivered to the King at his entertainment at Merchant Taylors' Hall.

1607. c. Aug.—Marston. The Lord and Lady Huntingdon's entertainment of their mother Alice, Countess-Dowager of Derby.

1608. Jan. 10 (Sunday after Twelfth Night).—Jonson. The Queen's Mask of Beauty was presented at Whitehall by her and her ladies. [Portington, the King's master carpenter, arranged the scenes. Jones took no part in this Mask].

1608. Feb. 9.—Jonson and I. Jones. [The Hue and Cry after Cupid.] A Mask at John Ramsey Viscount Haddington's marriage [at Whitehall] on Shrove Tuesday with Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, daughter of the Earl of Sussex.

1609. Feb. 2.—Jonson and I. Jones. The Mask of Queens was presented at Whitehall by the Queen and her Ladies.

1610. Jan. 6.—Jonson. The speeches at Prince Henry's Barriers were delivered (Nichols, ii. 269) at Whitehall before

the King, Queen, Ambassadors of Spain and Venice, &c. [Mr. Collier's statements (i. 362), repeated by Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham in his "Jonson," iii. 63, are palpably deliberate falsehoods.]

1610. April 23.—Robert Amery. For Chester's Triumph in honour of her Prince, Henry, Prince of Wales, Earl of Chester. See Nichols, ii. 291.

1610. June 5.—Daniel and I. Jones. Tethys' Festival or The Queen's Wake was presented by the Queen, her Ladies, the Duke of York, &c., at Whitehall, at the creation of the Prince of Wales.

1611. Jan. 1.—Jonson and I. Jones. Oberon the Fairy Prince was presented at Whitehall by Prince Henry and 12 others.

1611. [Jan. or Nov.].—Jonson. Love freed from Ignorance and Folly was presented by the Queen. See Nichols, ii. 372, 432. The other Queen's Mask of this year there mentioned I am unable to identify. This was Jonson's last Mask for the Queen, and at this same time begins his quarrel with Inigo Jones.

1613. Mar. 3 [Nichols gives 1612, March 30, wrongly].—Scyros, a Latin Pastoral, and a comedy were presented before Prince Charles and the Elector Palatine by Trinity College at Cambridge (Nicholls, iii. 55).

1613. Feb. 11, Thursday.—The Elector Palatine was married to the Lady Elizabeth.

1613. Feb. 14.—Campion. On Shrove Sunday [Orpheus] his Mask was presented by the Lords at the banqueting-house at Whitehall.

1613. Feb. 15.—Chapman and I. Jones. [Plutus] their Mask was presented on Shrove Monday by the gentlemen of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn at Whitehall.

1613. Feb. 20, put off from Feb. 16, the Hall being then so full that the Maskers could not get in.—Beaumont. [The Marriage of the Thames and Rhine.] This Mask was presented by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple and Gray's Inn at Whitehall. Francis Bacon arranged the presentment. Jonson did not write a Mask for this marriage.

1613. Apr. 27, 28.—Campion. An entertainment was presented to the Queen at Caversham House, near Reading, by Lord and Lady Knollys.

[1613. Dec. 24–5].—Jonson. Love Restored in a Mask at Court by [the Prince's] Gentlemen, the King's Servants, was, I think, performed just before the marriage of the Earl of Somerset to the divorced Countess of Essex. The Challenge at Tilt of Dec. 27 (if we may trust Gifford, but the words are not in the First Folio) begins, "The Court being in expectation as before;" and to what can the words "as before" refer if not to "The King and Court being seated and in expectation" in the immediately preceding Mask? The date usually given is 1610, because of "the fighting bear of last year" mentioned in it; but this is a bear who fights in the "motions" at Court, not that at the Tower of 1609. Moreover, the identification of this gentleman's Mask with a "Queen's Mask" is absurd. Moreover, the Mask itself contains a reference to the "Christmas cutpurse" of 1613–14 (who is also alluded to in Bartholomew Fair, 1st Nov. 1614), and (in the concluding song) a clear anticipation of the festivities of the marriage about to take place note especially the "next shows" mentioned.

1613. Dec. 26.—Campion. [The Mask of Squires] by him was presented at Whitehall on the marriage-day. [Halliwell, in his Dictionary, calls this The Squire's Masque (*sic*), and dates it about 1615.]

1613. Dec. 27.—Jonson. A Challenge at Tilt at a marriage [The Two Cupids] was begun.

1613. Dec. 29.—Jonson. The Irish Mask (a Medley Mask, 5 English and 5 Scots, "the high Dancers") by [the Prince's] gentlemen the King's Servants, was presented.

1614. Jan. 1.—Jonson. The Challenge at Tilt was continued.

1614. Jan. 4.—Middleton. A Mask of Cupids, another Mask, and a play were presented to the married couple in Merchant Taylors' Hall.

1614. Jan. 6.—Campion. The Mask of Flowers was pre-

sented at Whitehall by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn. Bacon again appears as the chief promoter of Gray's Inn Masks.

1614. Jan. 10.—"The lofty maskers" repeated their Medley or "mimical imitation of the Irish" (see Nichols, ii. 733; Jonson's Irish Mask).

1614. Feb. 3.—Daniel. Hymen's Triumph, a Pastoral Tragi-Comedy, was presented at the Queen's Court in the Strand (Somerset House), when the Queen entertained the King at the nuptials of Robert Ker, Lord Roxburgh, and Mrs. Jane Drummond.

MALE PERFORMERS IN COURT MASKS (1604–1613).

	1604, Dec. 27. P. Herbert m.	1606, Jan. 6. Essex m.	1607, Jan. 6. L. J. Hay m.	1608, Feb. 9. L. Haddington m.	1613, Apr. 27. Caversham.	1613, Dec. 27. Somerset m.
William Herbert: E. Pembroke	1	...	...	3	...	2
William L. Willoughby	2	...	...	...	...	...
Sir Samuel Hays	3	...	...	...	...	...
Sir Thomas Germain	4	...	...	...	...	...
Sir Robert Carey	5	...	...	...	...	...
Sir John Lee	6	...	...	...	...	...
Sir Richard Preston	7	...	4	...	...	...
Sir Thomas Bager	8	...	8	...	...	...
Theophilus Howard: L. of Walden	...	2	1	6	1	6
Sir James [afterwards L.] Hay	...	3	...	7	...	9
Philip Herbert: E. of Montgomery	...	4	...	4	...	5
Sir Thomas Howard	...	5	2	...	2	10
Sir Thomas Somerset	...	6	...	...	...	...
Thomas Howard: E. of Arundel	...	7	...	2	...	...
Sir John Ashley [Astley]	...	8	5	...	...	...
Sir Henry Carey	...	...	3	...	8	...
Sir Thomas Jarret	...	...	6	...	...	...
Sir John Digby	...	...	7	...	...	...
Master Goring	...	...	9	...	...	...
Ludovic Stuart: D. of Lenox	...	...	...	1	...	1
Esme Stuart: L. D'Aubigny	...	...	...	5	...	...
Robert Crichton: L. Sanquhar	...	...	...	8	...	..
Sir Robert Rich	...	...	...	9	...	...
Sir Jo. Kennedy	...	...	...	10	...	...
Master Erskine	...	...	...	11	...	...
Henry Howard	...	...	...	...	3	11
Sir Charles Howard	...	...	...	...	4	12
Richard Sackville: E. of Dorset	...	...	...	...	5	3
L. Dudley North	...	...	...	...	6	8
Sir Henry Rich	...	...	...	...	7	...
William Cecil: E. of Salisbury	...	...	...	...	...	4
L. Emanuel Scrope	...	...	...	...	..	7

FEMALE PERFORMERS IN COURT MASKS (1604–1610).

	1605, Jan. 6, Blackness.	1608, Jan. 10, Beauty.	1609, Feb. 2, Queen's.	1610, June 5, Tethys' F.
The Queen	1	1	1	1
Lucy Harrington: C. Bedford	2	5	5	...
L. Anne Herbert	3	...	...	...
Alice Spencer: C. Derby	4	4	3	5
[Penelope] L. Rich	5	...	...	...
Catherine Knevit: C. Suffolk	6	...	...	...
Frances Knevit: L. Bevil	7	...	...	...
Anne St. John: L. Effingham	8	...	...	...
L. Eleanor Howard	9	...	...	...
Susan Vere: C. Montgomery	10	6	7	8
Mary Sidney: L. Wroth	11	...	...	...
Lady [Thomas] Walsingham	12	16	...	...
L. Arbella Stuart	...	2	...	3
Alethea Talbot: C. Arundel	...	3	2	4
Elizabeth Somerset: L. Guildford	...	7	9	11
Katherine Somerset: L. Petra	...	8	...	12
Anne Somerset: L. Winter	...	9	10	13
Anne Rivet: L. Windsor	...	10	11	14
Anne Clifford: C. Dorset	...	11	12	7
Mary Sackville: L. Nevil	...	12	...	...
Elizabeth Cecil: L. Hatton	...	13	...	...
L. Elizabeth Gerard	...	14	...	...
Frances Harrington: L. Chichester	...	15	...	...
Elizabeth Stanley: C. Huntingdon	...	...	4	...
Frances Howard: C. Essex	...	...	6	6
Catherine Howard: V. Cranbourne	...	...	8	...
Princess Elizabeth	...	...	...	2
Elizabeth Ratcliff: V. Haddington	...	...	...	9
L. Elizabeth Gray	...	...	...	10

SECTION C.

COMPANIES (1603–1614).

1. THE Chapel children at Blackfriars were reorganised as the children of Her Majesty's Revels, under a Privy Seal, 30th January 1604. Evans, being in disgrace, withdrew from their management, and began to treat for surrendering the lease. They were superintended at first by Edward Kirkham, Alexander Hawkins, Thomas Kendal, and Robert Payne. Samuel Daniel was to approve and allow their plays. [Dr. Ingleby mistakenly supposed this Privy Seal to be not genuine.] Among the plays licensed by Daniel in 1604 were his own Philotas, which was regarded as improperly shadowing forth the career of the Earl of

Essex, and Eastward Ho! by Chapman, Marston, and Jonson, in which the Scots were satirised. In 1605 these last-named authors were imprisoned, and earlier, in 1604, Daniel was summoned before the Council. After 1605 these boys did not appear at Court, and in 1606 they were there replaced by the Paul's boys under Kirkham. Of their constituent members we know nothing, but that Field, Hamlet, Ostler, and Underwood were some of them. In August 1608 ("Greenstreet Papers"), and no doubt in consequence of the inhibition following the performance of Chapman's Byron, the Burbadges purchased the remaining lease of the Blackfriars from Evans, and in December 1610 took Ostler and Underwood into their own service ("Blackfriars Share Papers," 1635), while Field took the management of the new company (2 Queen's Revels) set up at Whitefriars under a patent of 4th January 1610 granted to Philip Rossiter and others. Their chief members are known from the list of actors prefixed to Jonson's Epicene, written and acted at Whitefriars (see Prologue) "in 1609," *i.e.*, before 25th March 1610. They were—

1. Nat. Field.
2. Will. Barkstead [Baxter].
3. Gil. Carey.
4. Will. Pen.
5. Hug. Attawel.
6. Rich. Allin.
7. Joh. Smith.
8. Joh. Blaney.

Jonson himself, I think, acted Morose (see the end of the play). The immediate cause of this reconstitution of the Queen's Revels children must, as already stated, be looked for in their production of Chapman's two plays on Biron. Before 5th April 1608 [not 1606, as in the translated "Raumer," ii. 219] Beaumont, the French ambassador, had caused these plays to be inhibited. They persisted in acting them when they saw the whole Court had left the town. They also brought on the stage the Queen of France boxing the ears of Mdlle. de Verneuil. Three actors were arrested at Beaumont's suit, but Chapman, the principal person (being the author), escaped. I think Jonson had a hand in one of these plays. In Parrot's More the Merrier, 1608, April 2, S. R., there

is a covert allusion to the poet and players' sufferings for their abuses. "A few days before, these players had brought forward their King cursing and swearing, because he had been robbed of a bird, and beating a gentleman because he had called off the hounds from the scent." The King "has made an order that no play shall be henceforth acted [by them] in London, for the repeal of which order they have already offered 100,000 livres" [c. £4000]. This is in April 1608. At the close of July the deaths from Plague exceeded forty per week, and the theatres were necessarily closed till December 1609, in which month the Queen's Revels children acted Fletcher's Scornful Lady at Blackfriars (in which the Cleve wars of 1609 are mentioned). This was their last performance there. The new company acted at Whitefriars from 1610, January, onward.

On 29th August 1611 a company under Alexander Foster, and therefore the Lady Elizabeth's men of the Court accounts of February–April 1612 (whom Collier in his "Alleyn," p. 98, calls Prince Henry's men), entered into a bond with Henslow [probably to act at the Swan, where they produced Middleton's Chaste Maid in Cheapside, the "Proud Maid" of the Court accounts]. The names of the sharers were—

1. John Townsend.
2. Will. Barkstead [2 R.].
3. Joseph Taylor [Y.]
4. William Ecclestone.
5. Giles Carey [2 R.]
6. Thomas Hunt.
7. John Rice.
8. Robert Hamlet [or Hamten, 1 R.]
9. Will. Carpenter.
10. Thomas Basse.
11. Joseph Moore.
12. Alexander Foster.

Carey and Barkstead had been members of the 2 Queen's Revels, Taylor of the Duke of York's, and Hamlet of the 1 Revels. He acted in Eastward Ho! Rossiter's company (the 2 Revels) continued at Whitefriars, but in March 1613 Rossiter's and Henslow's amalgamated, and were then called the Lady Elizabeth's men ("Variorum," xxi. 413). Jacob Meade, waterman,

appears as Henslow's partner in the contract with Field (Collier's "Alleyn," p. 118) to provide a house or houses for them to play in. The contract was for three years. The principal members of the Lady Elizabeth's men before and after this junction are known from the lists of actors in Beaumont and Fletcher's second Folio:—

The Coxcomb [January–February 1612–13].	*The Honest Man's Fortune* [after March 1613].
1. Nathan Field.	1. Nathan Field [2 R.]
2. Joseph Taylor.	2. Joseph Taylor [1 E.]
3. Giles Carey.	4. William Egglestone [1 E.]
4. Emanuel Read.	5. Emanuel Read [2 R.]
5. Richard Allen.	6. Thomas Basse [1 E.]
6. Hugh Attawell.	
7. Robert Benfield.	3. Robert Benfield [2 R.]
8 William Barkstead.	

The Coxcomb was acted at Court before March 1613 before the King [the payment being £10, not £6, 13s. 4d.], as appears from Oldys' MS. note in "Langbaine," by the Queen's Revels children under Rossiter. The only entry of these boys acting before the King in the extant Court accounts is that of 1st January 1613, given by P. Cunningham ("Sh. Soc. Papers," ii. 126), but that entry refers to Cupid's Revenge, not the Coxcomb. It appears from these lists that Taylor (who, 1610 March 30, was a member of the Duke of York's company) was with Foster 29th August 1610, with Rossiter c. January 1613, and with Henslow later in that year.

In April 1614 Henslow formed a new company out of the 2 Lady Elizabeth's men and Prince Charles' (late the Duke of York's). They played still under the name of the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Hope, the rebuilt Paris Garden, where they acted Jonson's Bartholomew Fair 31st October. The next day it was acted at Court. As on 9th December 1613 Daborne, writing to Henslow, mentions "your public house," I infer that the private house in Whitefriars was not yet closed.

2. The Paul's boys continued to act as in the previous reign until 1607. Their last play that I can trace was Beaumont's Woman Hater. This was the only company at this time not under the direct patronage of the Royal Family. They appear only once at Court, 1605–6, as under E. Kirkham, who seems to have left the 1 Revels boys during their disgrace in Eastward Ho! 1605, but they only acted before the Princes. They never attained the honour of appearing before the King.

Immediately after the disappearance of the Paul's boys in 1607 a new children's company appears, the children of the King's Revels. As there is definite evidence that the King's Revels were not the same boys as the Queen's Revels, I incline to think that they were the Paul's boys under a new name.

On 30th March 1610 a patent was granted to the Duke of York's players, a new company who arise immediately after the disappearance of the King's Revels children. Their names were—

1. John Garland [from F. Henslow's company].
2. William Rowley.
3. Thomas Hobbes.
4. Robert Dawes.
5. Joseph Taylor.
6. John Newton.
7. Gilbert Reason.

On the death of Prince Henry, 6th November 1612, their title became the Prince [Charles'] servants. There is no theatre named in their patent, but they probably acted, if at any fixed house, at the Curtain. About April 1614 they were amalgamated with the Lady Elizabeth's men under Henslow at the Hope. Dawes' bond to play for three years for Henslow and Meade bears the date 7th April 1614. Robert Pallant also joined them from the King's men. Pallant and Dawes were made sharers in June.

3. The Chamberlain's men, who had already, in 1601, on their visit to Scotland, been received into King James' service, were licensed as the King's men under a Privy Seal 17th May 1603, and patented on the 19th. As there was little change in the

period 1603–14 it is convenient to give such lists of these men as are still accessible in one synoptic table. The numbers placed against their names show the order in which they are mentioned, and in the list derived from A. Phillipps' Will, A. stands for apprentice, F. for fellow-actor, E. for executor, S. for servant, T. for testator, P. for player.

In using these lists it is important to note that lists from official documents include only "sharers," not hired men or apprentices; while lists of the "chief actors" prefixed to plays generally include some boy actors excellent in their female parts, but not sharers, being still in their apprenticeship.

	License, 17th May 1603.	Sejanus, 1603.	List, 15th March 1604.	Malcontent, 1604.	Phillipps' Will, 4th May 1605.	Volpone, 1605.	Alchemist, 1610.	Catiline, 1611.	Captain, 1612.	Duchess of Malfi, 1612.
Laurence Fletcher	1	...	3	...	F.	...	...	...	...	...
William Shakespeare	2	2	1	...	F.	...	...	...	...	...
Richard Burbage	3	1	5	P.	E.	1	1	1	1	P.
Augustine Phillipps	4	3	2	...	T.	...	...	...	...	...
John Hemings	5	4	4	P.	E.	2	2	2	...	...
Henry Condell	6	6	8	...	F.	3	5	4	3	P.
William Sly	7	5	6	P.	E.	5	...	...	...	...
Robert Armin	8	...	7	...	F.	...	9	...	...	...
Richard Cowley	9	...	9	...	F.	...	...	...	...	...
John Lowin	...	7	...	P.	...	4	3	5	...	...
Sander Cooke	...	8	...	...	F.	6	7	3	2	...
John Sinkler	...	...	...	P.	...	...	...	...	...	...
Christopher Beeston	[left the company 1599]				S.	...	...	...	...	...
Nicholas Tooley	...	...	...	...	F.	...	8	8	...	...
Samuel Gilburne	...	...	...	...	A.	...	...	...	...	...
James Sandes	...	...	...	...	A.	...	...	...	...	...
William Ostler	from the Chapel children, Dec. 1609						4	7	4	P.
John Underwood							6	6	...	...
William Eglestone							10	10	...	...
Richard Robinson	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9	...	...
Robert Pallant	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P.

The license of 17th May 1603 is printed in Collier, i. 334. Soon after the reopening of the theatres in that month at the King's coming, the King's men were in trouble about Jonson's Sejanus. Northampton called Jonson before the Council, and accused him of Popery and treason. The lists of players in this play, Volpone, the Alchemist, and Catiline, are taken from Jonson's first Folio. That of 13th March 1604 is from a

document respecting an allowance for cloaks, &c., published by the New Shakspere Society. In 1604 the company was again in trouble for representing the Gowry conspiracy. On 18th December J. Chamberlain wrote to Sir R. Winwood that it had then been twice represented with exceeding concourse of all sorts of people. It being unfit that Princes should be played on the stage in their lifetime, or else the handling of the matter being improper, some great councillors were offended, and an inhibition was expected. In the next year Volpone was acted, and gave renewed offence to the Court, probably on account of the miraculous Oglio del Scoto mentioned in it, which was regarded as a satire on the King's touching for the evil. In the Court plays of 1605–6 the company are humbly apologetic for their error. In Macbeth a long description of the good King's miraculous gift was inserted for the Court's edification, and to Mucedorus additions were made abusive of Jonson (see my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 303).

On [25th] December 1609, Quarter Day, the Burbadges having in 1608, August, bought the remaining lease of the Blackfriars theatre of Evans, and for a short time continued the Queen's Revels boys in that theatre, adopted Ostler, Egglestone, and Underwood into their own company from the boys (they having now grown up to be men), and placed deserving men, Hemings, Condell, Shakespeare, therein. They continued from 1610 to 1642, when the final closing of the theatres took place, to use both the Globe and Blackfriars. Fletcher (and Beaumont?)'s Captain, which we only possess in a greatly altered form, affords another column to our table, the earliest King's men list derivable from the 1679 Folio. Webster's Duchess of Malfi, which is usually dated 1616, as Dyce puts it, not 1612, as Malone and I do, must be earlier than June 1614, for Pallant played in it, and at that date he left the King's men, whom he never rejoined.

1611.—In A King and no King, v. 3, one Will Adkinson was an actor.

4. In [May] 1603 the Earl of Worcester's players passed under the protection of Queen Anne. A rough undated draft of their

patent was printed by Collier, i. 336. This document has not hitherto been suspected, but I think some expert should examine it, for the following reasons:—1. It licenses their playing "within [our City of] London;" but no men players were allowed at this date within the City. 2. It provides that the deaths from Plague should be under thirty per week, whereas forty is well known to be the correct number. 3. It mentions the Boar's Head and Curtain as the usual playhouses of the company, whereas we know that Worcester's played at the Rose in May 1603, and at the Red Bull and Curtain in 1609, while of a Boar's Head playing-house no other mention is found since Queen Mary's time. The names of the players are, however, the same as those in two undoubted documents, one a list of players, to whom cloaks, &c., were granted, 15th March 1604 (New Sh. Soc.); the other a patent of 15th April 1609 ("Sh. Soc. Papers," iv. 44):—

	[1603, May.]	1604, Mar. 15.	1609, Apr. 15.
Thomas Greene . . .	1	9	1
Christopher Beeston . .	2	1	2
Thomas Heywood . .	3	6	3
Richard Perkins . . .	4	5	4
Robert Pallant . . .	5	4	5
Thomas Swinnerton . .	7	8	6
John Duke	6	3	7
Robert Lee	10	2	8
James Holt	8	7	9
Robert Beeston . . .	9	10	10

In 1609 Pallant is mistakenly called Richard—the Richard immediately preceding having caught the scribe's eye.

This company acted at the Bull 1609–1619, and Curtain 1603–1609. When the King's men acquired two houses the Queen's men withdrew to the Bull, resigning the Curtain, most likely on 25th March 1610, the exact date of the change being not earlier than that of the new patent, 15th April 1609, and not later than 30th March 1610, when the Duke of York's men went to the Curtain.

I print the annexed document; because it, being one of Mr. Greenstreet's discoveries in 1885, was of course not quoted in

Mr. Collier's "Lives of the Actors" in 1870 (Second Edition). The only new information derivable from it is that Thomas Greene, the actor, had probably married the relict of Robert Brown, who has been mentioned *supra* under date 1586. Christopher Beeston, Richard Perkins, and Thomas Heywood were already known as Queen's men acting at the Red Bull, and so was the date of T. Greene's death between 25th July and 10th October 1612. What follows is in Mr. Greenstreet's own words from the *Athenæum* of 29th August 1885:—

"Upon the appearance of my pamphlet on the players at the Red Bull and Cockpit, Dr. Halliwell-Philipps kindly called my attention to the circumstance that Thomas Green, the quondam spouse of Mrs. Baskervile, was a very noted actor, and that, therefore, considerable interest would attach to his Will if it could be traced. I had already searched myself in the Calendars of Wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Commissary Court of London without success; but Mr. J. Challenor Smith, the able superintendent of the Literary Department of the Court of Probate, has since put me in the way of finding it in the Registers of the Consistory Court of London, and I am, therefore, now in a position to append a verbatim copy as follows:—

"*Testamentum Thome Green.*

"*In Dei nomine Amen.* I Thomas Greene, of the parishe of S^{t} James Clarkenwell, vppon the twenty five daye of July, 1612, beinge sicke of body but of perfect sence and memorey, doe constitute and make my last Will and testament, not beinge constrayned thervnto by any, but of my owne accord. *Inprimis* I give and bequeath my soule to almighty god my Creator, and to his only begotton sonne my gratious redeemer, and to the holy ghost my comforter and sanctifyer; and I give my body (after it shall please god to call me) to be buryed in the churche of S^{t} James Clarkenwell, after the order of Christian buryall. *Item* I give to m^{r} John Andrewes, preacher, for a sermon at my funerall, forty shillings, to be payd by my Executor. *Item* I give and

bequeath to my daughter Honnor Green, lawfully of my body begotton, an hundred pownds vsuall money of England, to be payd within eyghteen moneths after my decease. *Item* I give and bequeath to my sonne in law Robert Browne forty pownds, to be payd by my Executor out of my goodes when he shall come to the perfect age of twenty and one yeares; and vntill the foresayd tyme of one and twenty yeares my executor shall give the sayd Robert Browne fowr pounds yearly. *Item* I give and bequeath to my sonne in lawe Willyam Brown forty pownds vsuall money of England, to be payd by my executor when he shall come to the age of twenty and one yeares; and duringe the space of the sayd Willyams nonage my Executor to give him yearly fowr pownds vsuall money of England. *Item* I give and bequeath to my daughter in lawe Susanna Browne the some of thirty pownds vsuall money of England, to be payd by my executor when shee is fivetene yeares of age; and soe likewise I give and bequeath to my daughter [*sic*] Elizabeth Browne thirty pownds vsuall money of England, to be payd at her age of fivetene yeares. *Item* I give and bequeath to my daughter in lawe Anne Browne thirty pownds vsuall money of England, to be payd to her when shee shall come to the age of fivetene yeares. *Item* I give and bequeath to my foresayd three daughters Susanna, Elizabeth and Anne three pownds to each of them yearly, to be payd by my executor vntill they come to the foresayd age of fifteen yeares. *Item* I will and bequeath that if any of my two sonnes Robert and William Brownes, or any of my foresayd three daughters Susanna, Elizabeth or Anne Brownes shall dye before they come to the full age when I will they should receive their severall legacies, that then the legacy of the party deceased shall equally be devided among st them that survive. *Item* I give and bequeath to my sister Elizabeth Bar ett, to be receaved by my brother John Greene and disposed of by him for hir vse, tenn pownds, to be payd by my Executor within three moneths after my decease. *Item* I give to my brother John Greene the three lummes [read "summes"] which he hath in present possession already. *Item* I give to m^r^ Gautres, my baker, tenn shillings, to

be made a ringe as memoriall of me. *Item* I give to m^r^ Standley my brewer, tenn shillings, to a memoriall ringe. *Item* I give and bequeath to John Cumbere [left blank] pownds, to be payd by my Executor within one yeare after my decease. *Item* I give and bequeath to my friend Alexander Pratt twenty shillings, to be payd by my Executor after my funerall imedyatly. *Item* I give & bequeath to my fellowes of the house of the redd Bull forty shillings, to buy gloves for them. *Item* I give and bequeath to my two brothers Jafferey and John Greenes thirty shillings to each of them, to make them seale Ringes. *Item* I make and ordayne Susann my very well beloved wife full executrix of this my last Will and testament, giveing her all my goods and chattells to the performance hereof; and doe make and ordayne Jeafferey Greene, my brother, Christopher Beeston and Richard Parkines overseers to this my last Will and Testament. In witnes wherof I have sett my hand and seale, Before theis witnesses: Alexander Pratt, Christopher Beeston, Richard Parkines, Thomas Heyward and Jeafferey Greene, with others. Tho: Greene. Witnesses, Alexander Pratt, presbyter, Chr. Beeston.

"Probate granted October 10th, 1612, to Susanna Greene, widow, relict. Register of Consistory Court of London (Somerset House), 'Hamer,' 129. JAMES GREENSTREET."

This other document (which also gives us no information of any importance) is for similar reasons here printed from the *Athenæum*, 28th November 1885, in Mr. Greenstreet's own words:—

"THE RED BULL PLAYHOUSE IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I.

"Collier in his annals of the stage ('History of Dramatic Poetry,' i. 330) refers to the uncertainty[1] which exists as to the date when this playhouse had its beginning. Among the records

[1] As to this uncertainty see my text. The Queen's men began to play here in April 1609.—F. G. F.

of the Court of Requests I have lately noticed two documents which afford a clue to the source whence information upon this point is likely to be obtained. One of the documents is an order of the Court made in the suit of Woodford *versus* Holland, and bearing date May 15th, 11 James I. (1613); the other a final decree in the same cause, dated June 23rd following. By the former the complainant, Thomas Woodford, gent., sought to recover an eighteenth share of the profits of this playhouse from one Aaron Holland, whereupon two counsel were deputed by the Court to examine the parties, and, if they could, decide the matter before the ensuing Trinity Term. The other document is unfortunately much damaged by damp, still not to so great an extent but that the gist of it can be made out, and we gather therefrom that the defendant Holland had leased the said share to one Philip Stone, gent., for fifty s[illegible]lings per annum, with a clause of forfeiture for non-payment, which lease Stone had since assigned to the complainant, who having failed to pay a quarter's rent, 12s. 6d., the defendant claimed to take advantage of the forfeiture. The defendant (it appears) had expressed himself in his answer willing, if the complainant would satisfy his just demands, to make a new lease of the said share to Woodford in his own name, which arrangement the Court deemed equitable, and ordered the defendant to execute such new deed, or suffer a penalty of £300.

"From the foregoing it will be readily perceived, I think, that if we could see the bill of complaint which was the foundation of this suit there would doubtless be found in it considerable material for illustrating the early history of the Red Bull playhouse. It is, therefore, cause for much regret that the present condition of that special class of the records of the Court of Requests renders it very unlikely that the document in question will be available for many years yet to come. This particular bill might be sought for in any of forty huge bundles, each containing probably six or seven hundred documents of various and widely differing dates.

"I now give the text of the order referred to above, which

occurs in the Court of Requests Books, vol. xxvi., fol. 780, and is dated May 15th, 11 James I. [1613]:—

"'*Woodford—Holland.*—In the matter of varyaunce depending before his ma^tie^ & his highenes Counsaill in his ho: Court of Whitehall at the sute of Thomas Woodford, gent., compl[ainant], against Aaron Holland, def^t^, Being, amongst other thinges, for & concerning the compl[ainant's] demaund of the eightenth penny and eighteenth part of such moneys & other comodities as should bee collected or receaued for certen yeares, yet enduring, for the profittes of the Galleries, or other places in, or belonging to the Play howse called the Red Bull at the vpper end of S^t^ Johns streete, London, As in & by the said compl[ainant's] bill of complaint is declared; Vnto w^ch^ Bill the said def^t^ hath made answere. Wherevpon it is now Ordered by his ma^ties^ said Counsaill, by & w^th^ the consent of both the said parties, that the said matters of the compl^tes^ bill and the def^tes^ answere shalbe wholly & absolutely referred to the hearing and ordering of Anthony Dyot & Clement Gouldsmithes, esq^rs^. Counsailours at lawe, being seuerally of counsaill w^th^ the said parties, who are content to take paines for the composing of the same controuersies. ffor w^ch^ purpose a Com[mission] vnder his highenes Privie Seale shalbe directed vnto the said m^r^ Dyot & m^r^ Goldsmith, aucthorising them thereby to call before them both the said parties, together w^th^ all such witnesses as by either partie shalbe nominated, And to examine them the said witnesses by theire othes in due forme of lawe, vpon such articles Interr[ogatory] as by either partie shalbe ministred towching the matters of the said bill & answere, And by all such good wayes & meanes as to them shall seeme meete, to searche & fynde out the veritie of the premisses, And therevpon finally to Order & determine the same controuersie if they can; But if they cannot so doe, Then to certify theire wholl doinges and proceedinges therein into this court in the Quindezim of tholy Trinitie next cominge, Wherevpon his ma^ties^ said Counsaill are pleased to take vpon them the vmpirage of the same matters, & finally to determine the same.'

"The final decree, dated June 23rd following, is to be found in the same volume at fol. 890, and runs as under:—

"'*Woodford—Holland.*—In the matter of varyaunce depending before his Ma^tie and his highenes Counsaill in his ho: Court of Whitehall at the sute of Thomas Woodford, gent., compl^t, against A[aron] Holland, def^t, Being amongest other thinges, for & concerning the compl^t[^s d]emaund of the eighteenth penny and eighteenth part of such moneys and other comodities as should be collected or receaued for certen yeares, yet enduring, for the profittes of the Galleryes or other places in or belonging to the Play howse called the red Bull at the vpper end of S^t Johns streete, London, according to a deed indented, made & sealed by the said def^t vnto Philip Stone, gent., his executours, administratours & assignes, and certen covenauntes therein for the consideracions & vnder the yearely rent of fiftie shillinges, quarterly to be payed by [eve]n porcions, in such manner as in the bill is expressed; w^th proviso that [in de]fault of payment of the said annuall payment at the dayes for [paym]ent thereof, the benefit & comoditie graunted as aforesaid, together [with] the said Indenture should cease. Which said Phillip Stone hath.....and assigned over, by good conveyance in writing, his state and [? interest] in the premisses vnto the compl^t and his assignes; And the compl^t.....[the] said Holland w^th receipt of the profittes thereof to the.....who promised to deale well w^th him in his absence beyond [? the seas], And that he would not take advantage of the breache of anie.....[as might] happen in the time of his absence (if any such shoulde [happen]); Neuertheles the said compl^t did take speciall order, with.....Payne, that he should performe the sayd yearely payments [of fiftie] shillings at the dayes wherein the same moneys should growe, who neglecting one quarters payment, being xij.*s.* vj.*d.*, for the space of one day or two, the said def^t afterwards refused to accept of the [same], and seeketh to take the benefitt and advantage of forfeiture of [the] said Indenture, and refuseth to accompte w^th the compl^t for the profitts [recei]ued by him, wherein the compl^t

prayeth releife, As in his bill of [com]playnt is declared. Vnto w^ch^ Bill the said def^t^ by way of [ans]were, amongest other things, hath sett furth that if the said compl^t^, [w]ill satisfie and pay all such sommes of money as he the compl^t^ or anie other from whom he claymes, haue vniustly deteyned, or cause to be deteyned from him, he is well contented to make a new Indenture vnto the compl^t^ in his owne name, vnder such covenaunts, articles, provisoes, condicions & agreements as are conteined in the said Indenture formerly made by him to the said Phillip Stone, As by his said answere may appeare. Vpon opening of which matter before his ma^ties^ said Counsaill, in presence of the counsaill learned of both the said parties, and vpon consideracion had of the said def^tes^ said answere & other circumstances of the cause, And for that the said def^t^ hath not made apparant to this Court what moneys are iustly due vnto him from the said compl^t^, It is therefore Ordered by his ma^ties^ said Counsaill that the said compl^t^, his executours & administratours, shall from hencefurth haue and receaue the profitts and benefitt of all the said premisses in as lardge and ample manner, and in such manner & forme as he, or the said Phillip Stone before him, or any other person for or on the behalf of the said comp[l^t^], or of the said Phillip Stone, ever heretofore had and enioyed the same, without the lett, denyall, disturbance or contradiccion of the said def^t^, or any other person or persons clayming in, by, from or vnder him, vntill such tyme as other and further order shalbe in this court taken and [m]ade to the [co]ntrary. And it is further ordered that the said compl^t^ sh[all] and may drawe a newe Indenture, or deede Indented, to theffect of the form[er], w^th^ such covenauntes & provisoes as in the former Indenture graunted to the saide Phillip Stone is conteyned, w^ch^ the said def^t^ shall furthw^th^, [v]pon request in that behalf to be made, seale & deliuer as his deede, and exe[cu]te the same to all intentes and purposes as the said former Indenture [wa]s made and executed, notwithstanding any pretended forfeytur[e] there[of]. And so the other demaundes, as well of the compl^t^ as def^t^, the said.....libertie to proceede according to the ordinary course [o]f this Co[urt].....

y^t^ is lastly ordered that an Iniunccion vnder his ma^ties^ P[rivy Seal] vpon paine of ccc^li^ shalbe directed to the said def^t^, and any [other] person or persons clayming in, by, from or vnder him, to whom.....it shall apperteine, for the due performance of the present or[der].'

"Notwithstanding his previously expressed acquiescence in the arrangement, the defendant does not seem to have been at all ready to obey the order of the Court, for in an affidavit book (Court of Requests Books, vol. 128), under date, July 6th, 1613, we have the subjoined statement sworn to:—

"'Towching the cause at the sute of Tho: Woodford, gent. compl[ainant], against Aron Holland, def^t^: John Penkethman, of the parish of S^t^ Dunstans in the West, Scrivener, maketh othe, that vpon the fyveth day of this instant moneth, & also vpon this present day he served his ma^ties^ writt of Iniunccion, vnder his highenes P.S., vpon the said def^t^ for performance of an order made in this court betwene the said parties dated the xxiij^th^ of June last; & this depon^t^ yesterday did offer to reade the order & Iniunccion vnto him, w^ch^ he refused to hear, but the def^tes^ sollicitour this present day did reade them both, & tolde the def^t^ the effect thereof; And this depon^t^ & also the said compl^t^ did tender to the saide def^t^ an Indenture drawne & engrossed according to the said order, w^th^ wax ready put therevnto, requiring the def^t^ to seale the same, but he refused so to doe.

'(Signed) JOH: PEN^keth^MAN.'

"It is not easy to assign a reason for the especial favour shown by royalty at this period to these players of the Red Bull, unless, indeed, they are to be identified with that company which, not long prior to the King's accession to the throne of England, journeyed from London to Edinburgh, and, as we learn from the records of the time, met with a very cordial reception at his hands.[1] JAMES GREENSTREET."

[1] The players at the Red Bull were Queen Anne's men; the company that went to Scotland were the Chamberlain's, afterwards in the service of James I.—F. G. F.

5. In 1603 [May] Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral, transferred his players to Prince Henry. After Prince Henry's death, 1612, November 6, they became the Palsgrave's servants. They acted at the Fortune. We have four lists of them during this period—(1) from the book of the Prince's Household Establishment, 1603? (Harl. MSS. 252; Collier, i. 338); (2) printed by New Sh. Soc., 1604; (3) from a patent, 1607, April 30 ("Sh. Soc. Papers," iv. 42); and finally, (4) from the license under a Privy Seal to the Palsgrave's men, 4th January 1613. The two last lists, being both of sharers, show that an important increase in their number had taken place between 1607 and 1613.

	1603?	1604.	1607.	1613.
Edward Allen	...	1	...	...
Thomas Towne	1	3	2	...
Thomas Dutton	2	4	1	1
William Bird	3	2	3	2
Samuel Rowley	4	5	5	4
Edward Juby	5	6	4	3
Charles Massey	6	8	7	5
Humphrey Jeffes	7	7	6	6
Edward Colbrand	8	...	...	9
Edward Parr	9	...	...	10
Richard Pryor	10	[Price in 1613 list]		14
William Stratford	11	...	...	11
Francis Grace	12	...	...	7
John Shank	13	...	...	13
Antony Jeffes	...	9	8	...
William Cartwright	...	...	...	8
Richard Gunnell	...	...	...	12

From the omission of Edward Allen and Antony Jeffes in the first list I infer that it is dated too early. Collier gives the date as "immediately after" King James' accession. I believe the true date to be 1608.

SECTION D.

THEATRES (1603–1614).

THE following table shows the occupation of the theatres for 1603–14:—

GLOBE.	CURTAIN.	ROSE.	FORTUNE.	BLACKFRIARS.	PAUL'S.
King's, 1603–1613.	Queen Anne's, 1604–1609.	Queen Anne's, 1603–c. 1604.	Prince Henry's, 1603–1612.	1 Queen's Revels, 1604–1609.	Paul's boys, 1603–1607.
Burned 1613, June 29.	Duke of York's, 1610–1612.	RED BULL.	Palsgrave's, 1613–1621.	King's, 1610–1642.	[King's Revels, 1607–1609.]
King's, 1614–1642.	Prince Charles', 1613–1623.	Queen Anne's, 1609–1619.			WHITEFRIARS. 2 Queen's Revels, 1610–1613.

1. The Globe was burned down 29th June 1613, and was rebuilt 1614, by the spring, "in far fairer manner than before."

2. The exact date of the Queen's men taking possession of the Curtain is unknown, but it was most likely directly after their license in May 1603. The date of their resigning it to the Duke of York's men is also conjectural, but we know that this company, when they had become the Prince's men after Prince Henry's death, acted at the Curtain, and it is therefore likely that they did so before. As none of their plays of date 1610–12 have reached us, the point is of small import.

3. The Red Bull, at the upper end of St. John Street, Clerkenwell, was a regular public theatre, not an inn-yard. The earliest definite mention of it known to me is in 1609. The acting of Heywood's Lucrece there is only mentioned in the 1638 edition, and does not apply to the original production of the play.

5. I have already noticed the resumption of Blackfriars theatre by the Burbadges in August 1608, and their putting King's men in it in December 1609.

6. The placing the King's Revels boys at the Paul's Singing-School is pure conjecture on my part. But if they did not act there, where did they act? If they did act there, must they not have been a continuation of the Paul's boys under a new name? I have already shown, p. 187, a probability that the Lady Elizabeth's men acted in 1613 at Whitefriars, as well as at the Swan 1611–13. This last exceptional extra play-place is omitted in the table. It is the only instance of a seventh theatre about London in our chronicle from 1558 to 1642.

In 1613, August 29, Gilbert Katherins, of St. Saviour's, Southwark, covenanted with Henslow and Meade that before 30th November he would pull down the Bear Garden [Paris Garden] on the Bankside, and set up a new house, fit for players to play in, and for bulls and bears to be baited in, in size and fashion like the Swan, for £360. This newly erected house was called the Hope. It was not used as a playhouse after Henslow's death, January 1616, and was thenceforth used for bear-baiting, &c., generally under the old name of Paris Garden. All the statements of Collier and his followers on this matter are incorrigibly wrong, and the statements in the agreement (printed in full, "Variorum," iii. 343) are quite lucid and definite. There were never more than four theatres at one time on the Bankside, never more than three used contemporaneously for playing.

SECTION E.

AUTHORS (1603–1613).

I.—*King's Men: at the Globe*, 1603–1609.

Shakespeare . . .	See my "Life of Shakespeare" (1603–9).
Jonson	Sejanus; Volpone.
Wilkins	Pericles (as at first acted).
Tourneur	Revenger's Tragedy [but is this Tourneur's?].
Webster	Marston's Malcontent, with additions.
Anon	Gowry; London Prodigal; Yorkshire Tragedy; Spanish Maz; Devil's Charter; Fair Maid of Bristol [not the Bristol Tragedy]; additions to Mucedorus.

At the Globe and Blackfriars, 1610–1613.

Beau. and Flet. . .	Philaster; Maid's Tragedy; King and No King; Captain [altered afterwards].
Jonson	Alchemist; Catiline.
Webster	Duchess of Malfy.
Anon	Second Maiden's Tragedy [rather should be named The Usurping Tyrant].
Fletcher	Woman's Prize, or Tamer Tamed.
Flet. [Jonson] . .	Love's Pilgrimage [Cardenas].

At Merchant Taylors' Hall.

Will. Smith . . .	Freeman's Honour.

II.—1 *Queen's Revels Children at Blackfriars*, 1603–1609.

Chapman	M. D'Olive; All Fools; Byron's Conspiracy and Tragedy; Widow's Tears.
Marston	Dutch Courtesan; Fawn [from Paul's boys]; Sophonisba.
Day	Law Tricks; Isle of Gulls.
Middleton . . .	Trick to catch the Old One [from Paul's boys]; Five Witty Gallants.
Sharpham . . .	Fleire.
Rowley	Match at Midnight [aided by Middleton].
Fletcher	Faithful Shepherdess; M. Thomas [Father's own Son].
Beau. and Flet. . .	Four plays in one; Love's Cure or the Martial Maid [altered by Massinger]; Scornful Lady.
Chap., Mars., Jons.	Eastward Ho.

2 *Queen's Revels Children at Whitefriars*, 1610–1613.

Chapman	Widow's Tears [from 1 Queen's Revels]; Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois.
Marston	Insatiate Countess [altered by Barkstead; Baxter's Tragedy].
Jonson	Epicene [c. Feb. 1609–10] or the Silent Woman.
Field	Woman's a weathercock.
Beau. and Flet. . .	Coxcomb [afterwards altered by Massinger]; Knight of the Burning Pestle; Cupid's Revenge [altered by Field].
Taylor	Hog hath lost his pearl was acted at Whitefriars by London apprentices.

1 *Lady Elizabeth's at the Swan*, 1611–1612.

Middleton . . .	A Chaste Maid in Cheapside.

2 *Lady Elizabeth's at Whitefriars or Swan*, 1613–1614.

Fletcher	Nightwalker or Little Thief [afterwards altered by Shirley]; Wit without Money; Nice Valour or Passionate Madman [altered after Fletcher's death].
Daborne	Machiavel and the Devil; Arraignment of London [aided by Tourneur]; Bellman of London; Owl; The Saint; [Poor Man's Comfort].
Flet. [Mas., Field, Dab.]	Honest Man's Fortune.

At the Hope, 1614.

Jonson	Bartholomew Fair.
Middleton & Rowley	No Wit no Help like a Woman's.

At Rossiter's Theatre in Blackfriars, 1615.

Field	Amends for Ladies, by L. Elizabeth's and Prince Charles' men.

III.—*Paul's Boys*, 1603–1607.

Dekker and Webster	Westward Ho; Northward Ho.
Middleton . . .	Phœnix; Michaelmas Term; Mad World my Masters; Trick to catch the Old One [acted afterwards at Blackfriars, cf. *supra*].
Anon	Abuses, containing a comedy and a tragedy; Puritan or Widow of Watling Street [Middleton].
Beaumont . . .	Woman Hater.
Chapman	Bussy d'Ambois.

1 *King's Revels* [*children*], 1607–1609.

Day	Humour out of Breath.
Sharpham . . .	Cupid's Whirligig [contains an allusion to the Valiant Welshman].
Middleton . . .	Family of Love.
Armin	Two Maids of Moreclacke; [Valiant Welshman or Caradoc].
Mason	Turk.
Barry	Ram Alley.
Markham	Dumb Knight [aided by Machin].

Duke of York's, 1610–1612.

No plays known [unless the Valiant Welshman, by R. A[rmin], published in 1615, as acted by the Prince's men, were revived by them].

IV.—2 *Queen's* [*Anne's*], 1603–1613.

No plays known 1603–1606.

At the Curtain, 1607.

Wilkins, Day, W. Rowley	Travels of 3 Brothers.	
Dek., Webs.	Sir Thomas Wyatt.	[From the Admiral's].
Heywood	Woman Killed with Kindness.	
Anon	Nobody and Somebody [altered by Heywood].	

At the Bull, 1609–1613.

Dekker	If it be not good the Devil's in't; Match me in London.
Heywood	Four Prentices of London; Rape of Lucreece; Golden, Silver, and Brazen Ages; Woman Killed with Kindness [revived]; [Wise Woman of Hogsden].
Marlow	Edward 2 [from Pembroke's men].

At the Bull or Curtain.

Webster	White Devil; Devil's Law Case.
S. S.	Honest Lawyer.

At the Bull and Curtain, by a Company of Citizens.

Will. Smith	Hector of Germany, or the Palsgrave Prince Elector, 1613.

V.—1 *Prince's* [*Henry's*] *at the Fortune*, 1603–1612.

Dekker	1 Honest Whore (aided by Middleton); 2 Honest Whore; Whore of Babylon; Roaring Girl [afterwards altered by Middleton].
Anon	The Ship; Long Meg of Westminster [revived]; Almanac; Richard Whittington.

SECTION F.

GENERAL STAGE HISTORY (1603–1614).

1603. May 5.—From "Henslow's Diary," p. 232, it appears that on 5th May the Admiral's company left off playing at the King's coming. No doubt the other companies did the same. On 7th May he arrived in London; on the 9th ("Diary," p. 251)

Worcester's men at the Rose began playing again, and presumably the other theatres reopened. At the end of the Proclamation of May 7 a clause occurs forbidding bear-baiting and stage-playing on the Sabbath, "for that we are informed that there hath been heretofore great neglect in this kingdom of keeping the Sabbath day." On the 17th the Privy Seal for the King's men (late the Lord Chamberlain's) was issued, and their patent on the 19th. It is almost certain that at the same date (although only in the case of the King's men are the documents extant) the Admiral's men were transferred to Prince Henry and Worcester's to the Queen. Thus all the men players at public theatres in London passed at once from the patronage of noblemen to that of the Royal Family; and so, later on, did the boy players at the private houses, the Chapel boys becoming children of the Queen's Revels 30th January 1604, and those of the King's Revels taking the place of the Paul's boys in 1607. This produced a great change in the character of the plays produced. It is not very difficult from internal evidence to decide whether a play was written under James or Elizabeth; it is not so easy to separate those of James' reign from those of Charles I. In direct relation to this change (the purport of which seems to have been hitherto insufficiently appreciated) the statute of 1 Jas. I. c. 7 (March 1604) enacts that noble personages shall authorise none to go wandering abroad. The statute of 39 Eliz. c. 4 (1597) had expressly included "common players" among the persons whom noblemen might so license, and so had the statute of 14 Eliz. c. 5 (1572). From 1604 onwards any such strollers were ranked as vagrants and sturdy beggars, along with gipsies tinkers, minstrels, and pedlars. The whole authority over the stage now vested in the Royal Family, and we have seen that an allusion to "industrious Scots," or "Oglio del Scoto," at once aroused the King's anger, while far more serious matters were allowed to pass unchallenged.

1604, April 4.—Malone, in his "Inquiry," p. 215, quotes a letter of this date to which I ask particular attention. It is addressed to the Mayor and Justices ordering them to permit

playing by the King's men at the Globe, the Queen's at the Curtain, the Prince's at the Fortune, "their usual houses" (not a word of the Boar's Head or the Red Bull). See p. 191. This document mentions

> the companies of the 1 King, 2 Queen, 3 Prince;
> and the houses of 1 Globe, 2 Fortune, 3 Curtain;

whence Collier wrongly concluded that the Prince's men were acting at the Curtain; and in his "Alleyn" and other books assumed this as an established fact. He did not see that it upset the [apocryphal] statement made in the document published by him that the "usual houses" of the Queen's men were the Boar's Head and the Curtain.

1604. Sep. 17.—N. Giles was authorised by Patent to take up children for the Chapel. This shows that these boy choristers and actors who had been in both capacities under Giles' management until 30th January 1604 were now only subject to him as Chapel choristers; their masters as Revels actors were Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendal, and Payne.

1606 [c. Jan.].—The statute 3 Jac. 21 provides that none shall in any stage Play Show Maygame or Pageant, profanely use the name of God, Christ Jesus, the Holy Ghost, or Trinity, in pain of £10, to be divided between the King and the Prosecutor.

1608. July 7.—Dekker's "Raven's Almanac" was entered S. R., in which he speaks of the contention that will take place (as it had done before, of course) in the autumn of 1609 between the three houses [public theatres; the flags indicating performance are mentioned]. These were the King's at the Globe, Queen's at the Curtain, Prince's at the Fortune. No Red Bull yet then; it must have opened after this date.

1610. Oct.—E. Tylney, the Master of the Revels, died. Sir George Buc succeeded him. Buc had been acting Master ever since 10th April 1607; see the S. R. entries, which include a solitary license by Tylney on 29th June, in my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 337. From these it will be seen that Segar acted as Buc's deputy from 1607, October 4, to 1609, March 10.

1610.—It appears from the allusion to the Fools at the Globe, Fortune, and Curtain, in "Heath's Epigrams," that these three were the only public theatres open at the time the epigram was written; but collections of epigrams necessarily include many of dates anterior to that of publication.

At this point I insert some valuable documents, of which abstracts were published in the *Athenæum* by Mr. Greenstreet. That gentleman has kindly placed at my disposal the full text of those in the Chancery suit of Kirkham *v.* Evans, and they are now published for the first time in full. The abstracts in the *Athenæum* omitted the most important portions. Little, if any, new matter is contained in these papers concerning Shakespeare's company; but most valuable information is afforded concerning the Queen's Revels children, who were closely connected with them (commercially, not dramatically) at this time. For the clear understanding of these papers it is desirable here to recapitulate the dates of some of the ascertained facts of the dealings between Evans and the other persons concerned, starting from 1596, many of these facts being obtained from the documents themselves, viz.:—

1.	Evans *v.* Kirkham.	Evans' complaint, 5th May 1612.
2.	„ „	Kirkham's answer, 19th June.
3.	„ „	Evan's replication [— June].
i.	Kirkham *v.* Painton.	Kirkham's complaint, 1st July.
ii.	„ „	Burbadge's and Hemmings' plea, 8th July.
iii.	„ „	Evans' plea, 10th July.
iv.	„ „	Painton's answer, 22nd July.
v.	„ „	Hemmings' and Burbadge's answer, 2nd November.
vi.	„ „	Evans' answer, 6th November.
vii.	„ „	Kirkham's replication, 7th November.
viii.	„ „	Final decree, 14th November.

The numbers on the left will be referred to in the following summary :—

1596. May 4.—Burbadge acquired the Blackfriars house.

1597. July 15.—N. Gyles obtained his Patent for the Chapel children.

1600. Sep. 2.—Burbadge leased the house to Evans for 21 years from Michaelmas, September 29, at £40 per annum. (iv.) The "full ten years to come" in (2, i.) is one of Kirkham's false statements.

1600. Dec.—Evans was censured for irregularity in taking up boys, and the playhouse under him was inhibited.

1601. Oct. 21.—Kirkham stated (i.) that Evans let half the profits to Kirkham, Rastell, and Kendall in consideration of their laying out £400, and that a deed of assignment to Hawkins was made in trust for their benefit. This is a palpable falsehood, concocted after the deaths of Rastell and Kendall. There is no doubt that the Court was right in its adjudication, and that the assignment was absolute, not in trust.

1602. April 20.—Evans assigned his lease to Hawkins, who was his son-in-law (iv.).

1603–4.—After the Plague (Dec.–Jan.) Evans treated with Burbadge about surrendering the lease (v.); but instead of this—

1604. Jan. 30.—The company was reconstituted as the children of Queen Anne's Revels under Kirkham, Hawkins, Kendall, and Payne. Rastell's name does not appear in the Patent.

1605, early.—The trouble about Eastward Ho caused the inhibition of these children and the removal of Kirkham to the children of Paul's; the Queen's patronage was withdrawn, and the boys acted as "their own masters" under the name of the children of the Revels, but were still popularly known as the children of the Queen's Revels (vi., vii.).

1608. April 6.—The boys were in trouble about Chapman's Byron, and no doubt in consequence of this—

1608. Aug. .—The lease was finally surrendered to Burbadge (v.). The children were again taken under the Queen's patronage, and in 1609 acted The Scornful Lady as the children of the Queen's Revels.

1610. Jan. 4.—They as such obtained their new Patent under Rossiter and others, and removed to Whitefriars, the Blackfriars house being taken over for the use of the King's company.

1611. June.—Kirkham sued Evans in the King's Bench, and was non-suited. Then followed the suit of Evans *v.* Kirkham in May and June; and in July–November Kirkham's vexatious proceedings, given at full in the following documents, which have been so strangely misunderstood by the editor of the *Athenæum*. I have not ventured to suppress any portion of his remarks (or Mr. Greenstreet's, which are mostly correct), but would willingly have been relieved of the thankless task of commenting on the singular deductions drawn by the editor of a paper which has so frequently and erroneously commented on my own supposed defects.

It will be seen that the transactions on which these lawsuits were based took place before December 1609; hence the absence of the names of Shakespeare and Condell, who then, and not till then, became shareholders in the Blackfriars private house. It is quite clear that Kirkham was, as Jonson calls him, "a base fellow," and that, not daring to move in this matter till Rastell and Kendall and Hawkins were dead, he seized on the first favourable opportunity, some three years after, to press his iniquitous claim. Rastell had had no concern in the matter from 1604 onwards. I have to apologise to the reader for repeating here some matter from preceding pages; but I am compelled to do so in order to present at one view the grounds for refuting the misconstructions of the *Athenæum*.

Chancery Proceedings, James I., Bills and Answers, Bundle E 4, *No.* 9, *Evans versus Kirkham.*

[1. Bill of Complaint.]

"5 Maii 1612. Tothill.

"To the Right Hono^ble^ Thomas Lord Ellesmere Lord Chauncelour of England

"In all humblenes complayninge sheweth vnto your good Lordshipp your daylye oratour Henrye Evans of London gentle-

man That whereas one Richard Burbadge of the parishe of S^ct^ Leonardes Shorditche in the Countye of Midd' gent' by his Indenture of lease bearinge date the second daie of September in the twoe and fortyth yeare of the raigne of our late soueraigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth [1600] of famous memorye hath leased and to ffearme leaten vnto your said oratour All that great Hall or Roome w^th^ the roomes over the same scituate and beinge w^th^in the precynct of the black ffryars in London Then or late in the tenure or occupacion of your said oratour for the tearme and space of one and twentye yeares commencinge at the feast of Sainct Michaell the Archangell next ensueinge [1600] the date of the same Indenture of lease for the yearely rent of ffortye powndes quarterlye to be paide at such daies and in such manner and forme as in and by the said Indenture wherevnto relacion beinge hadd it doth and male more playnelye appeare by vertue whereof your said oratour was truelye and lawfullye possessed of the demysed premisses for the tearme aforesaid And he your said oratour beinge soe possessed one Edward Kyrkham of London gent' William Rastell and Thomas Kendall late of London deceased ernestlye labored w^th^ and entreated your said oratour that he your said oratour would suffer them to have and enioye some parte of the demised premisses wherevppon it was agreed and concluded vppon betweene the said Edward Kyrkham William Rastell and Thomas Kendall and your said oratour that theye the said Kyrkham Rastell and Kendall should have the ioynte benefitt and profitt of all the said demysed premisses exceptinge onelye one or twoe roomes wherein your subiect then inhabited And therevppon the said Rastell Kyrkham and Kendall caused one obligacion of the penall some of twoe hundreth powndes or thereabouts to be wrytten and engrosed readye to be sealed by your said oratour and one Alexander Hawkyns late of London gent' deceased to this or the like effect followeinge videlicet That if the said William Rastell Edward Kyrkham and Thomas Kendall and everie of them there and everie of there executour administratours and assignes should or might from thenceforth duringe the contynewance of the same lease have the ioynte vse

occupacion and profitt togeather w^th^ your said oratour and the said Alexander Hawkyns there executours administratours and assignes and everie of them w^th^out the lett or trouble of your said oratour and the said Alexander there executours, administratours and assignes and everie of them of and in the said great Hall or Roome and other the premisses w^th^out the lett or trouble of your said oratour and the said Allexander there executours administratours and assignes or eny of them or of eny other person or persons by there or eny of there meanes or procurem^t^ theye the said William Rastell Edward Kyrkham and Thomas Kendall there executours administratours and assignes or eny of them payeinge vnto your said oratour and the said Alexander there executours or assignes or to some or one of them from thenceforth yearelye duringe the contynewance of the said lease the moytye or one haulffe of the said yearelye rent of ffortye powndes at the foure vsuall feasts in the yeare or w^th^in one and twentie daies next after eny of the said feast daies by even and equall porcions And alsoe bearinge and payeinge the moytye of such Chardges as from tyme to tyme shalbe laide out or disbursed for in or aboute the reparacions of the premisses by and accordinge to the purport and true meaninge and lymittacion of the said lease And alsoe permittinge and sufferringe your said oratour and the said Alexander there executours and assignes and everie of them to have there ioynt vse occupacion and profitt togeather w^th^ them the said William Rastell Edward Kyrkham and Thomas Kendall there executours administratours and assignes and everie of them of and in the said great hall and premisses w^th^out there or eny of there lette troubles and interruptions that then the said obligacion to be voide and of none effect or ells it to stand in full force and vertue w^ch^ said obligacion, vppon the faithfull promises of the said Kirkham, Rastell and Kendall that theye would never seeke or take eny advantage vppon the said bond in respect of eny smale breache of the Condicion of the said obligacion, or in respect of your oratours dwellinge or inhabytinge there, he your said oratour sealed the said bond of 200 li. And w^th^in one moneth or thereabouts next after

then sealinge of the same obligacion your said oratour did departe into the Countrye and relinquished and left all the aforesaid demised premisses to them the said Rastell Kyrkham and Kendall onely to there vse and dispose as best liked them at there free wills and pleasures for a longe space and tyme to there great benefitt and profitt and to the damadge of your poore oratour at the least to the value of three hundreth powndes, And yet not-wthstanding the said Edward Kirkham carryinge a great spleene and malice ageynst your said oratour in Trynitye tearme last arrested your said oratour by Writt out of the Kyngs bench vppon seuerall accions of a thowsand pownde damadges of purpose that your said oratour might not fynde sufficient suerties to bayle him w^{ch} great and vndeserved malice of his the said Kirkham was (although to his great trouble) avoyded for he your said oratour did put in good bayle to answere the said accions, whevppon the said Edward Kirkham declared ageynst your said oratour vppon the above recyted bond or obligacion And your said oratour wthout eny delaie on his parte answered and came orderlye to Issue wth the said Kyrkham readye for tryall, ffor w^{ch} in Mich'is and Hillarie tearmes last the said Kyrkham three or foure tymes gave warninge to your said oratour to goe to tryall and seuerall daies were appointed for the tryeinge thereof, and your oratour wth his Counsell Attorney and Wittnesses at his noe smale chardge everie seuerall tyme attended but the said Kirkham haveinge as it seemeth noe purpose to proceed therein doth by multiplicitie of suites and vexacions seeke to impoverishe and vndoe your said oratour And to manifest the same the said Kirkham hath commenced three severall accions ageynst your said oratour and the said Alexander Hawkyns vppon the said bond And nowe the said Kyrkham seeketh to take advantadge ageynst your said oratour vppon the said bonde of twoe hundreth powndes vppon noe or verye smale occasions beinge verie little or nothinge dampnified And for breach of the Condicion of the said obligacion the said Kirkham hath sett forth that there was a certen roome, called the Scholehouse, and a certen chamber over the same, demised and letten by the said Richard Burbadge to

your said oratour, in and by the said Indenture of lease, parcell of the premisses, locked vpp by your said oratour the twentyth daie of Januarie in the first yeare of the Raigne of our soueraigne Lord James the Kynges Ma^tie^ [1604] that nowe is and the said Edward Kyrkham William Rastell and Thomas Kendall from the said twentyth daie of Januarie [1604] vntill the first daie of Maie then next ensueinge [were excluded] by w^ch^ the said Edward Kyrkham William Rastell and Thomas Kendall by and duringe that tyme hadd not the vse occupacion and profitt of the same scholehowse and chamber w^th^ your said oratour and Alexander Hawkyns accordinge to the forme effect and entent of the Condicion of the said obligacion w^ch^ said scholehouse and chamber over the same were seuered from the said great hall, and made fitt by your said oratour, at his owne proper costs and chardges, to dyne and supp in; and there stood diuers implem^ts^ of houshold stuffe, and therefore it was not fitt and convenient that the dores of the same roomes should alwaies be vnlocked and left open and yet nevertheles the said dores were alwaies opened at the request or desire of the said Kyrkham Rastell and Kendall and eyther of them and theye might have hadd the ioynt vse and occupacion thereof at there will and pleasure and theye receyved noe losse or damadge by there said lease nor eny losse or damadge by the shuttinge or lockinge of eny dore for that if eny such dore were shutt or locked as is pretended then the same was alwaies opened and offerred to be opened vppon everie request of the said Kyrkham Rastell and Kendall and soe noe damadge at all vnto them or eny of them, yett for that the same bond is forfeyted as he the said Kyrkham pretendeth theye the said Rastell and Kendall beinge deade he the said Kyrkham for matter of vexacion hath put the said bond in suite at the Common lawe ageynst your said oratour and threateneth to take all advantadges therevppon and to that ende endeavoureth as much as in him lyeth to recover the penaltye of the same bond of your said oratour contrarie to all right equytye and good conscience In tender consideracion whereof maie it therefore please your good Lordshipp the premisses considered to graunt

vnto your said oratour his Ma^ties most gracious Writt of subp^a to be directed vnto the said Edward Kyrkham gent' Comaundinge him thereby at a certen daie and vnder a certen payne therein to be lymitted personallye to be and appeare before your good Lordshipp in his Ma^ties heighe Court of Chauncerye then and there to answere the premisses And further to stand to abide such order and direction herein as to your Lordshipp shalbe thought meete And your said oratour shall praie for your Lordshipp in health and happines longe to contynewe w^th encreasse of honour.

" Sy: Muskett."

[2. Answer of Defendant.]

" Jurat' 19 Junij, 1612. Mat. Carew.
Saunders.

" The aunsweare of Edward Kirkham of London gent' Def^t to the bill of compleint of Henrie Evans of London gent' Compl^t.

" The said defendant saith that the said bill of Compleint and the matters therin conteined are verie incerteine and insufficient in the Law to be aunswered vnto and framed and contriued onlie of purpose to vex troble and molest him this def^t and to driue him to vnnecessarie chardges & expences in the Law rather then of anie just cause or matter whatsoeuer. Neuertheles all and all manner of aduantages of exception to the incerteintie insufficiency wantes & ymperfeccions whatsoeuer of the said bill of compl^t now & at all times saued & reserued to him this def^te ffor aunswere to soe much therof as in anie sort towcheth or concerneth him this def^t he this def^t saith that he thinketh it to be true y^t the said Richard Burbadge in the bill mencioned did in or about the time therin specified lease & let to farme to the said compl^t all that great hall or roome w^th the romes over the same scituate & being w^thin the precincte of the Blacke friars in London for such terme of yeres & vnder such yerelie rent couenants limittacions and prouisoes as in the said bill of compl^t is set forthe. And

this defendant saith that the said compl^{t} being by force of the foresaid demise of all and singuler the said premisses soe possessed for the whole time and terme therin expressed true yt is that he this def^{te} and the said William Rastell and Thomas Kendall in the bill likewise named did treate and had communication wth the said compl^{t} to such end and purpose as in the bill is set forthe, and that thervpon it was agreed and concluded betwen the said compl^{t} and this def^{t} and the said other def^{tes} Rastell and Kendall that they the said defend^{ts} should haue and inioie the jointe benefit and vse of the saide demised premisses as in and by the s^{d} bill is alleadged And thervpon the said compl^{t} and the said Alexander Hawkins in the said bill named becam bound to the said def^{te} & to the saide Rastell and Kendall in the said bill likewise named in the said obligacion of the penaltie of two hundred pounds in y^{e} said bill mentioned wth Condition to such purpose & effect as in the said bill is declared as by the s^{d} obligation & the Condition therof wherunto the said def^{t} referreth himself doth and maie appeare w^{ch} said bond of two hundred pounds was by the said compl^{t} together wth the s^{d} Alexander Hawkins sealed & deliuered to this def^{t} & the said other defend^{ts}. And this def^{t} denieth that he or anie of the said other def^{tes} to his knowledge did vpon the sealing of the said bond or at any time before or since make anie promise that they would neuer seeke or take anie aduantage vpon the said bond in respecte of anie small breach of the Condicion therof or in respect of the pl^{ts} dwelling or inhabiting in parte of the said premisses or y^{t} the s^{d} compl^{t} did seale and deliuer the said bond vpon anie suche promise as in and by the said bill of compl^{t} is most vntrulie alleadged. And wheras the said compl^{t} in and by his said bill of compleint pretendeth that he the said compl^{t} in or about one month next after thensealing of the said obligation did departe into the countrie and relinquished and left all the foresaid demised premisses to this def^{t} & the said other def^{tes} in the bill named onlie to their vse and dispose to their greate benefit and profit and to the damage of the pl^{t} at least of Three hundred pounds to this the def^{t} saith that the same is not in

anie parte therof true in such sorte as in the said bill is surmised for this def^t saith although the said compl^t departed for a time into the countrie yet he left the said Alexander Hawkins to deale for him and to take such benefit of the said howse as should belong vnto him in his absence w^ch the said Alexander Hawkins did accordinglie so as the said compl^t lost nothing to the knowledge of the said def^te. But of the other syde by reason of the said agreem^t made by the said def^t & the saide Rastell and Kendall w^th the said compl^t they were inforced to disburse and laie out for diuerse ymploiments the somme of three hundred poundes at the leaste. After w^ch the compleinant vniustlie turned the said def^tes out of the said howse and would not suffer them to haue benefit or vse therof ffor w^ch cause true yt is that he the said compl^t in or about the time in the bill specified was arrested at the suite of him this def^te by writ out of the Kinges bench vpon seuerall accions of one thowsand poundes damage and was thervpon inforced to find and put in baile as there was iust cause he should doe. And this def^t saith that the reason whervpon he arrested the said compl^t grew not out of spleene or malice w^ch this def^t conceiued against the said compl^t but vpon good and sufficient cause ffor the said compl^t notw^thstanding his former Bargaine and faithfull promises concluded & made betwen the said compl^t & this def^te did turne the said def^t out of the said howse & premisses fower yeres together come Michaelmas next & would not suffer this def^t or the said other defend^ts to take anie benefit therbie And this def^t likewise saith that true it is that vpon the pl^ts putting in of baile as aforesaid he this def^t did declare vpon the foresaid obligation or bond obligatorie wherunto the said compl^t aunsweared and cam to yssue w^th this def^t readie for triall. And this def^t likewise saith that true it is that he this def^te in or about the time in the bill specified did at seuerall times giue warninge to the compl^t to goe to a triall & y^t seuerall daies were appointed for triall therof But this def^t denieth vpon his oath that he euer intended to ympouerish or weaken the said compl^ts estate by multiplicitie of suites for it was the said compl^ts own doing that the said triall was so long delaied & so

often put of for being readie for triall he the said compl^{t} made meanes to crosse the going on therof and procured an order to amend his plea and so to change the issue ffor w^{ch} he the said compl^{t} paid costes to this def^{te}. And further this def^{te} saith that forasmuch as this def^{te} hath lost threskore pounds per annum for fower yeares at the feast of S^{t} Michaell Tharchangell next coming [1612] and is like if the pl^{t} maie preuaile in his iniurious courses to loose the profit of the said howse and premisses for the terme yet to come being full tenne [nine] yeares & for that the said compl^{t} hath made breach of the obligation so by him and the said Hawkins entred to him the said def^{t} as aforesaid True yt is that the s^{d} def^{t} hath thervpon comensed seuerall suites against the said compleinant as he hopeth vnder the fauour of this hon^{ble} Courte it is lawfull for him to doe And this def^{t} saith that true yt is that the said Scholehowse & Chamber ouer the same were seuered from the said greate hall & made fit by the said compl^{t} at his owne proper costes and chardges to dine and supp in as in the said bill of compl^{t} is alleadged whervpon the said compl^{t} did wrongfullie wthhould & detaine the same from the said def^{ts} being of right belonging vnto them as parte of the demised premisses wherfore they were inforced to commense suite at the Comon Law for remedie therof. Wthout that that the said doores belonging to the said howse were alwaies opened at the request or desire of this def^{te} and the said other defend^{ts} in the bill named so as they might haue the jointe vse and occupation therof at their will & pleasure or y^{t} they receiued no losse or damadge by the shutting of the said doores as in the said bill of compl^{t} is most vntrulie alleadged And this def^{t} saith that he is so far from desiring the ouerthrowe or hinderance of the pl^{ts} estate by vexing him wth multiplicitie of suites that if in anie reasonable manner he be recompensed for the monie by the compl^{t} alreadie deteined for the time past & permitted to haue the jointe vse & occupation of the said howse & premisses for the time & terme to come being full tenne yeares he this def^{t} saith that he will take no benefitt or aduantage of the forfeiture of the said bond so to him & the said other def^{tes} by the said compl^{t} & the said Hawkins entred as

aforesaid w^th^out that that this defendaunte since the death of the said other defend^ts^ Rastell & Kendall hath for matter of vexation put the said bond in suite at the Comon Lawe against the said compl^t^ and threatneth to take all aduantages thervpon or to that end endeauored to recouer the penaltie therof as in & by the said bill of compl^t^ is most slanderouslie surmised And w^th^out that that anie other matter or thing in the said compl^tes^ bill materiall or effectuall in the Law to be answered vnto & herin not sufficientlie confessed & auoided trauersed or denied is true All w^ch^ this def^t^ is readie to averr and proue as this hon^ble^ Court shall award And humblie praieth to be dismissed out of the same w^th^ his reasonable costes and chardges in that behalf wrongfullie susteined. THO. RYCHARDSON."

[3. Replication of Complainant.]

"Tothill

"The Replicacion of Henry Evans, Gent, Compl^t^, to the Aunswere of Edward Kirkham Def^t^.

"The said compl^t^ for Replicacion doth and will averre iustefie and maynteyne his said Bill of Complaint and all and every the matters therein conteyned to be iust true perfect and sufficient in the Lawe to be answeared vnto, and that the same matters are full of equitie and fitt to be ayded and relieved in this honorable Court in such manner and forme as in and by the said Bill of Complaint is deduced and desired, w^th^ this that this compl^t^ will averre that yt it was meant and intended that small occasions should not of the compl^ts^ behalf make breach of the said Obligacion, And that the doores were alwaies (as this compl^t^ thincketh) ready to be vnlocked and left open at the publique request of the def^t^ and the rest of his said Associates vpon notice given that they or any of them meant to make any ioynt vse occupation and proffitt thereof according to the meaning of the Condicion of the said Obligacion. And the compl^t^ for Replicacion further saith that the same condicion specifieth the said Agreement to be vpon sondry payements perfourmaunces and lymitations of the def^t^ and

of the said Kendall and Rastalls parts executorily to be perfourmed w^{ch} being not perfourmed made in equity and truith the said Obligacion to be voyd, as in the said Bill of Complaint is truly alleadged; yet neverthelesse the said def^{t} having proceeded to yssue therevppon against the compl^{t} delayed to procure a Triall thereby to put the compl^{t} to trouble and chardge, as in the Bill is alleadged, but after the preferring of the said Bill the said Sute commenced by the def^{t} vppon the said Obligacion the now def^{t} having ioyned Issue therevpon, as in the said Bill and Aunswere is alleadged came to triall before the Lord Chief Justice of England about the end of Easter Terme last past, and vpon hearing of the proufes produced of the now pl^{ts} behaulf the said def^{t} did then become nonsute vpon the same yssue so ioyned, as by the Record thereof remayning in his Ma^{ties} Court commonly called the Kings Bench maie appeare. And the def^{t} sythence the said Tryall had put in his Aunswere, So that now there is no Cause why the said def^{t} should deteyne the said Obligacion, as this Compl^{t} conceaveth, vnles yt were infinitely to molest this Compl^{t}, the said def^{t} having vsed the best and extreamest meanes he could to laye the penalties thereof vpon this Compl^{t}, Or if there be any Cause vpon any small triffeling occasion (w^{ch} this Compl^{t} denieth) as vpon locking a doore of a Roome where noe ioynt proffitts to any great value could be made (alleadged by the def^{t} in his said Aunswere as a cause of breach of the said bond) yt standeth wth the Justice of this Court that the same, or any other matter, or the Circumstance therevpon depending, w^{ch} was no wilfull or voluntary cause of forfeyture of the said Obligacion committed by the pl^{t}, should be heard and moderated by the equitie of this honorable Court. And the Compl^{t} further for Replicacion saith, that he was, by the def^{t} and his said Associates vpon false informacion made to the late Lord Hunsdon, late Lord Chamberlaine, against this Compl^{t}, comaunded by his Lo^{p} to avoyd and leave the same, for feare of whose displeasure the Compl^{t} was forced to leaue the Country, and lost in want of not looking to his proffitt there and Charge otherwise neere three hundred pounds, w^{ch} they did of purpose to preiudice this Compl^{t},

the said Hawkins necligently, vnder whose title soever he pretended to take any proffitts, using the same. And whereas contrariwise yt is alleadged in the def^ts^ said Aunswere that by the said Agreement the said def^t^, Rastell, and Kendall were enforced to disbursse and lay out for divers Implements the somme of three hundred powndes at the least, after w^ch^ the compl^t^ vniustly thrust the said def^t^ and his Associates out of the said howse, and would not suffer them to haue the benefitt or vse thereof Therevnto the said compl^t^ for Replicacion further saith, That yt is not materiall to this compl^t^ what the said def^t^ disbursed or layd out for divers Implements as is alleadged neither materiall to be replied vnto, considering that yt is not shewed how they were enforced so to doe, or by whome, or for whome, or to whose benefitt the same losse and damage grewe. And this compl^t^ for Replicacion saith that after the said Agreement specified in the Condicion of the said obligacion neither the said def^t^ or the said Rastell or Kendall did ever (to this def^ts^ knowledge) buy any Implem^ts^ other then necessarie apparell, after the rates and porcions for to be vsed in and about such plaies as were to be made there. But yt is true that after the Kings most excellent Ma^tie^, vpon some misdemeanors committed in or about the plaies there, and specially vpon the def^ts^ Act & doings thereabout, had prohibited that no plaies should be more vsed there, that vpon such prohibicion the def^t^ and his Associates seemed to goe back: for no plaies being vsed, and little or no proffitt made of the howse, but the Compl^t^ still chargeable to paie ffortye pownds per annum for the rent thereof, whereas, w^th^out plaies vsed there, the same Roomes were not worth almost any Rent, and the Agreement being condicionall or vpon lymittacion, that the not payeing of the rent, or not perfourming the lymittacions aforesaid could but make voyd the said Agreement betweene the Compl^t^ and the def^t^, Therefore, the def^t^ willing to quit the place, as yt seemed to this Compl^t^, the said def^t^ at or about the xxvj^th^ of Julye 1608 caused the Apparells, properties & goods belonging to the Coparteners, Sharers, and Masters of the Queenes Ma^ties^ Children of her Revells (for so yt was often called) to be indifferently praised, and vpon such prayse-

ment the same was devided, and so praised and devided that the Praisers were at his owne meere appointement: and the said compl^{t} had thone half thereof vpon such praisement and division for his parte and proporcion, and the def^{t} and the said Rastell and Kendall had the other parte for their partes and proporcions, w^{ch} they tooke and accepted and seemed fully satisfied for any thing this compl^{t} pereeaved. After w^{ch} particion, so made (some of the boyes being before committed to prison by his Ma^{ties} commaund for the consideracions as aforesaid), for those and other consideracions before specified, the def^{t} said he would deale no more wth yt, 'for,' qd he, 'yt is a base thing,' or vsed wordes to such, or very like effect: wherevpon the def^{t} hauing not perfourned every of the lymittacions tied to the Compl^{ts} said agreement, of his the def^{ts} parte to be perfourmed, and so this Compl^{t} knowing the said agreement, by the breach and not perfourmance of the same of the def^{ts} parte, to be voyd, and the def^{t} having delivered up their Commission, w^{ch} he had vnder the greate seale authorising them to plaie, and discharged divers of the partners & Poetts, as this def^{t} hopeth to proue, this def^{t} dealt wth his Ma^{ties} Plaiers, and contracted wth them for the same, as was laufull for him to doe, who entred and enioyed and yet doe enioy the same; And shortly after the def^{t} put the said Obligacion in sute against the compl^{t} as aforesaid thincking that waie vniustly to gett the forfeyture thereof of this compl^{t}. In which sute vpon Triall and full hearing after yssue ioyned as aforesaid he was nonsute as aforesaid; Without that that this compl^{t} vniustly thrust out the said def^{t} and the said Rastell and Kendall out of the said howse, or vniustly suffered them not to haue benefitt thereof as in the said Aunswere is very falslye and vntruely alleadged, but vpon good and laufull meanes warranted by lawe and equitie: w^{tt}out that that any other matter in the said Aunswere materiall alleadged and in this Replicacion not sufficiently traversed or denyed confessed or avoyded or otherwise replied vnto is true. All w^{ch} matters the compl^{t} is ready to averre and prove as this honorable Court shall award, and praieth as in the said Bill of Complaynt he prayed.

NAPPER."

"Blackfriars Theatre in the Time of Shakespeare.

"The documents which are here given [and abstracts of which were printed in the *Athenæum*, 1882, April 7, 21] were brought under my notice by Mr. A. Wilkinson, a keen investigator into all matters connected with the history and topography of the metropolis. They are certainly of considerable importance for the history of the stage in the days of Shakespeare, and as such deserve, I think, to be registered in print forthwith.

"As will be perceived, the proceedings instituted by the complainant Kirkham were soon shown to be, as one of the defendants characterises them, 'frivolous,' and received summary dismissal at the hands of the Master of the Rolls. It is matter for regret that the cause of action had no better basis, as otherwise there might have existed the necessity for taking depositions of witnesses, and these perchance might have included the testimony of Shakspeare himself.[1]

"The text of the proceedings is contained in seven documents (filed together). James Greenstreet.

"*Chancery Proceedings, James I., Bills and Answers, K* 5, *No.* 25.

"Kirkham *v.* Painton.

I.

"Bill of Complaint. Date of exhibition: 'Primo die Julii, 1612.' Addressed: 'To the Right Ho^ble Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, Lord High Chauncellour of England.'

"'In most humble wise Complayninge, sheweth vnto your good Lo^p your dayly orator Edward Kyrkham, of the Strand, London, gent., Whereas Richard Burbidge, of Shoreditch, London, gent., was lawfully seised in his demesne as of fee of and in the great hall, scituate, lying and beinge in the Blackfriers, London, and he beinge thereof so seised did, in or about the two and fortith yeare of the raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth [1600] of famous

[1] No: Shakespeare was in no way concerned.—F. G. F.

memory, for good and valuable consideracion him movinge demise, let, and to ferme sett the said hall wth thappurtenaunces to on Henry Evans, of Blackfryers, London, gent., for and duringe the terme of one and twentie yeares from thence next ensuinge fully to be compleat and ended; yealding and payinge vnto the said Richard Burbidge his heires executours and assignes the full summe of fortie pounds duringe the said terme to be paied by even and equall porcions By virtue thereof the said Evans into the said premisses entred, and was thereof soe possessed accordinglie and he, beinge thereof soe possessed, in or about the three and ffortieth yeare of the Raigne of the said late Queene Elizabeth [1601], yt was concluded, agreed and consented vpon by and betweene your said orator and on William Rastall, of London, gent., and Thomas Kendall, of London, gent., one thone partie, and the said Evans on the other parte, That in consideracion that your said oratour, the said Rastall and Kendall would disburse about the premisses the summe of ffouer hundred pounds of lawfull English money, that in consideracion thereof the said Evans would sufficiently assigne the moytie or one halfe of the said leas of the premisses, and the proffitts thereof for and duringe all the terme then to come, and vnexpired, vnto your said oratour, Rastall and Kendall, and the surviuour of them, and to the executors and assignes of the surviuour of them, accordinge to w^{ch} agreem^{t} your said orator, the said Rastall and Kendall did disburse the said summe of ffouer hundred pounds about the premisses; and the said Evans did, with the assent and good likeinge of your said orator, the said Rastall and Kendall assigne the moytie or on halfe of the premisses wth thappurtenaunces and the proffitts thereof vnto on Alexander Hawkins, sonne in lawe to the said Evans, vpon trust and confidence that he, the said Hawkins, his executors or assignes should, at all time and times, at the request of your said oratour and the said Rastall and Kendall, or either of them should reassure the said leas and the proffitts thereof to your said orator, Rastall and Kendall, or the suruivour of them accordinge to the foresaid agreem^{t}. By virtue of wh^{ch} demise made as aforesaid to the said Hawkins vpon the said trust and

confidence and vpon an agreem[t] indented made betweene the said Alexander Hawkins & Evans on thone parte and your said orator the said Rastall and Kendall on thother parte manifesting the foresaide trust, your said orator, Rastall and Kendall, receyued the proffitts thereof to theire owne vses. And for further consideracion of the said agreem[t] the said Evans, his executors and assignes, was weekly to receiue of your said orator, the said Rastall and Kendall, and the survivour of them, and of the executors of the survivors of them, the somme of eight shillinges weekely duringe the saide terme, the which somme was paied to the said Evans accordingly by your said orator, the said Rastall or Kendall, or one of them; and lekwise for the considerac[ion] of 52*l.* xs paid to the said Evans by the said Hawkins. And the said Hawkyns beinge possessed of the said lease made vnto him vppon truste as aforesaide and of the proffitts thereof to the vse aforesaide one M[rs] Evans, wiffe of the saide Henry Evans, fyndinge the said leas in the custodye of the said Hawkins, her sonne in lawe, did very vnconscionablie, and without the privity of the saide Hawkins deliver the said leas to the saide Burbidge, Henry Evans and John Hemmyns, of Cryplegate, London, or to one of them, and by that meanes the saide Mystres Evans, Henry Evans, Burbidge and Hemmynges combined and confederated amongest themselffs howe to defeate your said orator, the said Rastall and Kendall of the said premisses, and of the said lease, and vnder collor and pretence thereof the saide Henry Evans, Burbidge, and Hemmy[n]gs have, for the space of these ffower yeares last past [1608–12] receaved the proffitts of the said premisses, beinge woorth eightscore poundes by the yeare besides the rents reserved therevppon, and did, and yett doth denye the deliverye of the possession of the premisses and the said leas of the moytie to your said orator, the said Rastall and Kendall, and likewise to your said orator being now suruivour, w[ch] ys contrary to equity and conscience, and as yet they doo refus the deliuery of the possession of the premisses to your said orator beinge survivour as aforesaid. The said Alexander Hawkins about two yeares last past [1610] died intestate, and Anne Hawkins, now

wife to the said Edward Paunton, tooke letters of administracion of the goods and chattels of the said Alexander her husband, and afterwards [c. 1611] the said Anne Hawkins did intermary and take to husband the said Edward Paunton, gent., who in the right of the said Anne his wife hath the interest of the moytie of the said premisses to the vse aforesaid. And the said Rastall and Kendall died about fouer yeares last past, after whose decease the proffitts of w^ch^ premisses duringe the saide terme, to the value aforesaid, ought to come to your said orator as surviuour; In tender consideracion whereof and for that your said orator hath noe remedy by the strict course of the Common lawes of this Relme to be releeved against the said Edward Painton and Ann his wife for the reassureinge of all theire interest and right in and to the said leas and the proffitts thereof to your said orator as suruivour, accordinge to the trust w^ch^ was reposed by your said orator the said Rastall & Kendall in the said Aliexander Hawkins latt husband of the said Anne and that he died before the lear was reassured accordinge to the said trust by his death the interest thereof remayneth in the hands of the said Paunton and Anne his wife as in the right of the said Anne w^ch^ ought to be reassured accordinge to the trust aforesaid to your said orator as surviuour And that your said orator hath noe remedy to recouer the said leas w^ch^ remaineth in the custodye of the said Evans, Burbidge and Hemminges or one of them, tenn yeares of w^ch^ leas remayninge in beinge and vnexpired, nor knoweth not wherein the same ys conteyned whether in bagge, box or cheist, locked or vnlocked And soe remeadilesse at the Common lawe, nor knoweth not what secret estate or estates they or ofther of them by theire combinacion aforesaid haue made of the premisses or any parte thereof nor w^ch^ of them receiueth the proffitts of the said premisses and soe remedilesse at the Common lawe as aforesaid, ffor releife herein. May it therefore please your good Lo^pp^ the premisses considered to graunt to your said orator his Ma^ties^ most gracious writ of Subpœna to be directed to the said Henry Evans, Edward Paunton and Anne his wife, Richard Burbidge, and John Hemminge commaunding them and euery of them at a certaine

day and vnder a certaine paine therein to be lymited personally to appeare before your good Lo^pp in this Ho^ble Court of Chauncery then and there to Aunswere the premisses and further to stand to and abide such order as to your Lo^pps wisdom shall accord w^th equitie and good conscience And your orator shall daylie pray for your Lo^pp in health and happines longe to continew.

"'STEPH. PRYCE.'

II

"'Vterq; iuř 8 Jul 1612.
Mat. Carew.

"'The plea of Richard Burbadg and John Hemmings, two of the def^ts in the bill of compl^t of Edward Kyrkham, compl^t.

"'The sayd def^ts by protestacion not confessing or acknowledging any materiall thing in the sayd bill of Compl^t conteyned wherew^th these def^ts or any of them are charged to be true for plea therevnto say that the greate hall in the bill mentioned is, and at the tyme of the making of the leas, in the bill mencioned, by the sayd Richard Burbadg to the sayd Henry Evans, one other of the def^ts, and at the tyme of the supposed agreement and assignm^t, in the sayd bill allso mencioned, betwene the sayd Henry Evans and the now compl^t and William Rastall and Thomas Kendall, in the bill named, was, and ever sythence hath bene a common playhouse for the acting and playing of enterludes and Stage playes, And that the severall agrem^ts, leases and assig[n]m^ts in the bill mencioned, if any such were, were made for and concerning the sayd playhouse, and the ordering, disposing, sharing and devyding of the sayd playhouse, and the benifitt and profitt thereof, and of the playes and enterludes, therein to be had, comming and arising; and that the mony in the bill mencioned to be disbursed by the sayd compl^t & Rastall and Kendall, if the same were disbursed, was by them disbursed for or about the setting forward of enterludes and playes to be acted in the sayd playhouse. And further say that if the sayd

Hall were converted from a playhouse to any other ordinary vse it would be of very little value, & nothing neare worth the rent reserved by the sayd leas. And further say that the profits in the bill mencioned, which the said compl^{t} doth compla[i]ne to have bene received by these def^{ts}, and seketh to be releeved for the same in this hon^{ll} Court, were the profits comming by, or by meane of the sayd Stage playes. And these def^{ts} further say that they never contracted or bargained, nor have had any dealing or entermedling with the sayd compl^{t} or the sayd Rastall and Kendall touching any thing in the bill mencioned. And therefore these def^{ts} doe demand iudgment if this honn^{r}b^{ll} court will hold plea of any matter of this nature, and whether these def^{ts} shall be compelled to make any other answere to the sayd bill, and pray to be dismissed with theyr reasonable costs and damages by them in this behalf wrongfully susteyned.

"'THOMAS COVENTRYE.'

III.

"'Juratus 10 Julij a° 1612
coram Jo. Hone,
Clapham.

"'The plea of Henry Evans, one of the def^{ts} to the Bill of compl^{t} of Edward Kyrkham, compl^{t}.'

"'The sayd def^{t} by protestacion not confessing or acknowledging any materiall thing in the sayd Bill of Compl^{t} conteyned wherewth this def^{t} is charged to be true for plea therevnto sayth that the greate Hall in the Bill mencioned is and at the tyme of the making of the leas in the Bill mencioned by the sayd Rychard Burbadg to this def^{t} and at the tyme of the supposed agreem^{t} and assignm^{t} in the Bill mencioned betwene this def^{t} and the now Compl^{t} and William Rastall and Thomas Kendall in the Bill named was and ever sythence hath bene a common playhouse for the acting and playing of enterludes and Stageplayes And that the severall agreem^{ts} leas and assignm^{ts} in the

Bill mencioned if any such were were made for and concerning the sayd playhouse and the ordering disposing sharing and devyding of the sayd playhouse and the benifitt and profitt thereof and of the playes and enterludes therein to be had coming and arising and that the mony in the Bill mencioned to be disbursed by the sayd compl^{t} Rastall and Kendall if the same were disbursed was by them disbursed for or about the setting forward of enterludes and playes to be acted in the sayd playhouse And further sayth that if the sayd Hall were converted from a playhouse to any other ordinary vse it would be of very little value and nothing neere worth the rent reserved by the sayd leas And further sayth that the profits in the Bill mencioned which the sayd Compl^{t} doth Complayne to haue bene received by this def^{t} and the other def^{ts} and seeketh to be releived for the same in this honn^{ll} Court were the profits coming by or by meane of the sayd Stageplayes And therefore this def^{t} demaundeth iudgm^{t} if this honn^{ll} Court will hold plea of a matter of this nature and whether this def^{t} shall be compelled to make any other Answere to the sayd Bill and prayeth to be dismissed wth his reasonable costs and charges in this behalf wrongfully susteyned.

"'THOMAS COVENTRYE.'

IV.

"'Juratꝰ 22 die Julij 1612.
Johannes Tyndall.

"'The Aunswere of Edward Panton, gentleman, one of the def^{ts} to the Byll of Compl^{t} of Edward Kirkham, gentleman, compl^{t}.

"'This def^{t} saving to hymself all advantages of exception to the incertentie and insuffyciencie of the said Bill of Compl^{t} for aunswere to so muche of the said Bill as concerneth this def^{t} saieth, That true yt is he lately maried one Margarett Hawkyns, wydowe of Alexander Hawkyns, mencyoned, as this def^{t} supposeth in the said bill of compl^{t}, w^{ch} Margarett took lettres of Adminis-

tration of the goods and chattells of the said Alexander And thinketh as in the right of the said Margarett his wyef that the Interest of the said Lease and of the resydue of the yeres to come in the said greate Hall mencyoned in the said Bill of Compl^{t} ys wholly and absolute in this def^{t} and denieth the moyetie onely thereof was assigned to the said Hawkyns by the said Henry Evans (mencyoned in the pl^{ts} Bill) vppon trust as by the said byll ys supposed to this def^{ts} knowledge Or that the said Hawkyns at the Request of the Playntyf Rastall and Kendall lykewyse mencyoned in the said Byll should or ought to reassure the said Lease to the Pl^{t}, Rastall and Kendall or the survyvour of them as in the said Bill ys suggested But this def^{t} saieth that true yt is as he verely thinketh that on or about the second daie of September in the xlijth yere of the Raigne of our late soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth [1600], Richard Burbydge, one other of the def^{ts} demysed the said great hall, in the said bill of compl^{t}, emongst other things, mencyoned, vnto the said Henry Evans for the terme of xxj^{ty} yeres. And that the said Hawkyns as this def^{t} hath harde and doth verely beleeve became bounde together wth the said Evans in a bonde of 400 li. for payment of the Rent of 40 li. yerely reserved vppon the said Lease vnto the said Burbydge his Executours and Assignes duringe the said Lease And that (as this def^{t} taketh yt), on or about the xxj^{ch} daie of October in the xliijth yere of the raigne of our said soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth [1601], the said Henry Evans, by good and sufficient conveyaunce in the lawe and for good and valuable considerations therein expressed dyd bona fide bargayne, sell, gyve, graunt or convey the said indenture of lease, and all his estate and interest therein, and of in and vnto the premisses, therein mencyoned to be demysed, vnto the said Alexander Hawkyns, his executours, administratours or assignes, absolutely as by the said Deede or Conveyaunce thereof made and nowe being or remayning in the custody or possession of the said Henry Evans Richard Burbydge and John Heminges (one other of the def^{ts}) or some of them or some other to their or some of their vses as this def^{t} verely thinketh wherevnto this def^{t} for the

more certenty referreth hymself more at large dothe and may appeare. Of w^ch said Lease and bargayne and sale or deed of guifte the said Alexander Hawkyns as this def^t thinketh was lawfully possessed, and so died possessed of the said bargayne and sale or deed of guifte and of a iust and true interest of in and to the said great Hall and other the premisses in the said Indenture of Lease mencyoned as this def^t hathe harde and dothe thinke yt to be true. And this def^t further saieth that after the decease of the said Alexander the interest and right of the said Alexander of in and vnto the premisses were invested as abovesaid in the said Margarett the nowe wief of this def^t and Administratrix of the goods and chattells of hym the said Alexander And this def^t further saieth, that true yt is, that as he hathe hard the said Henry Evans having gotten the possession of the said Indenture of Lease to hym made in the byll mencyoned dyd vppon some pryvate Agreaments betwene hym and the said Richard Burbydge the other def^t, after he had convaied the same to the saide Alexander, surrender the said Indenture of Lease w^thout the pryvetie or consent either of the said Alexander in his lyfe tyme in whome the Estate then was or of this def^t or his wief synce the death of the said Alexander in whome or one of them as they take yt and are informed by their Counsell the Estate and right of in and vnto the premisses onely ys or ought to be and remayne. And this def^t further saieth that the said compl^t shewed this def^t the coppie of certayne Articles of agreament, bearing date on or about the xx^th daie of Aprill, anno domini 1602, made betwene the said Alexander Hawkyns and Henry Evans, of the one part, and the said playntif, and others, whose names he nowe remembreth not, on the other part, whereby, this def^t conceaved yt, the said Evans confessethe the interest and possession of the said lease to be in the said Alexander Hawkyns absolutely and bona fide, as by the said Artycles of Agreament wherevnto this def^t for the more certentie referreth hymself more at large dothe and may appeare. But this def^t saieth that he hathe hard that about suche trashe as appertayned to plaies, interludes, and plaiers the said playntif disbursed

muche money, but to what somme or vppon what consyderation this def^t^ knoweth not neither doth this def^t^ thinke that this ho: Cowrte will enioyne this def^t^ (yf the said pl^t^ were dampnified in suche busynes) to gyve the playntif any satisfaction, for he is a mere stranger to the same neither ever had or hathe any intermedlinge or proffyt by the same or ys lyke to have otherwise then by the said Lease in right of his said wief yf this ho: Cowrte shall adiudge the same to be due vnto hym and shall order the same to be restored to the possession of this def^t^ To whom in lawe and equitie the same belongeth As by his learned Counsell he is informed. W^th^out that that to this def^ts^ knowledge the said Richard Burbydge dyd at any tyme demise the said Hall onely to the said Henry Evans for the somme of xl. li. duringe the said Terme to be paid by even and equall porcions as in and by the said byll of Compl^t^ ys suggested Or that there was at any tyme to this def^ts^ knowledge any such Agreament by and betwene them the said Henry Evans on the on part and the said Compl^t^, Rastall, and Kendall, in the said Bill also mencyoned on the other partie for the assigninge of the one moyetie of the said Lease of the said premisses and the proffits thereof to them or any of them as in and by the said byll of Compl^t^ ys also suggested. Or that to this def^ts^ knowledge the said Henry Evans dyd w^th^ the assent and good lykinge of the said Compl^t^ and the said Rastall and Kendall assigne onely the moyetie of the said Lease and premisses w^th^ the appurtenaunces and the proffytts to the said Alexander Hawkyns vppon trust and confydence that the said Hawkyns his Executours or assignes should vppon Request reassure the same as in and by the said byll of Compl^t^ ys also suggested And w^th^out that that any other acte matter or thinge in the said Bill of Compl^t^ mencyoned any way towchinge or concerninge hym this def^t^ and herein not suffyciently aunswered vnto confessed and avoyded trauersed or denied ys true All w^ch^ this def^t^ ys ready to averr and prove as this ho: Cowrte shall award And therefore praieth that he may be dismissed w^th^ his reasonable Costes and chardges in this cause wrongfully susteyned.

FRA: MOORE.'

V.

"'Vterque iuñ 2° Nouembris 1612. Mat. Carew, Clapham.

"'The joint and seuerall answeres of John Hemings and Richard Burbidge, twoe of the def^ts^ to the bill of complaint of Edward Kirkham, compl^t^.

"The said def^ts^ beinge by order and dyreccion of the right worshipfull the M^r^ of the Rolles to make answere to the said bill of complaint ffor answere therevnto savinge vnto themselves nowe & at all tymes hereafter all . . . . . advantage of excepcion to the incertaintie insufficiencye & imperfeccions of the same, they Jointlye and seuerallye sayen & first the said def^t^ Richard Burbidge for himselfe saith that yt is true that this def^t^ was and is . . . . . conceyveth yt, lawfullye seised in his demesne as of fee, of and in a Playhowse in the Blackfryers, London, in the bill of complaint called by the name of the great hall scytuate lyinge & beinge . . . . . London And true yt is lykewise that he, beinge of the said Playhowse soe seised, dyd, in or about the fower & fortith [1]

"[1] There can be little, if any, doubt that either Burbage or his lawyer has here fallen into error, three of the other deponents dating the lease in 42 Elizabeth, two of them giving the exact day, September 2nd, and in the same regnal year. Taking these evidences in connection with Kirkham's statement that Evans was collecting his player-boys in 43 Elizabeth, it may be reasonably concluded that the theatre was opened in the winter season of 1601-1602.[1] If so, and the reference in "Hamlet"[2] to the children of the chapel be not a later interpolation,[3] the production of the tragedy may be confidently assigned to 1602, to some time, of course, before the August[4] of that year. Of the other important point established by these papers there can be no sort of doubt. It is now for the first time ascertained that the King's Company were performing[5] at the Blackfriars Theatre as early as 1608, and for the interesting fact that Shakspeare was then one of their leading actors we have the unquestioned authority of the Burbages in the now well-known Lord Chamberlain records of 1635.—Ed. *Athen.*

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[1] The theatre was opened in 1597 under Giles; continued in 1600 under Evans. —F. G. F.

[2] Hamlet cannot be dated later than 1601. *See* my "Life of Shakespeare."—F. G. F.

[3] "A later interpolation"! It occurs in Q. 1, entered 1602, July 26, S. R. —F. G. F.

[4] Why August?—F. G. F.

[5] There is not a particle of evidence for this rash statement, which is in direct contradiction with the records of 1635 therein referred to. The part omitted by the learned Editor is the most important in the present document.—F. G. F.

yeare of the raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth [1602; should be 1600] by his indenture or other wrytinge of . . . . . consideracion therein expressed, demyse & to farme lett the said Playhowse vnto Henrye Evans, in the bill of complaint named as a defend^t^, whoe intended then presentlye to erect or sett vpp a Companye of boyes . . . . . in the same: To have & to hold the said Playhowse vnto the said Henrye Evans & his assignes for the terme of one & twentie yeares, or for such lyke terme, & reservinge for the same vnto himselfe this def^t^ . . . . . the yearlye rent of fortie pounds, as in the said bill of complaint is alledged: And this def^t^ further answereth & saith that true yt is that this defend^t^, consideringe w^th^ himselfe that, except the said Evans could erect & keepe a companye of Playinge boyes or others to playe playes & interludes in the said Playhowse in such sort as before tyme had bene there vsed, that he was lykelye to be beh[ind with] the said rent of fortie pounds, for that the said howse was not otherwise worth soe much rent as therevpon was reserved: Therefore he this def^t^ Richard Burbidge dyd therevpon, before the said lease [was] fynished & made vpp, requyre of the said Henrye Evans some collaterall securitie for the true & due payment from tyme to tyme of the said rent of fortie pounds: Wherevpon he the said Henrye Evans, togather w^th^ one Alexander Hawkins his sonne in lawe, became bounde vnto this def^t^ in a bond of fower hundred pounds, w^th^ condicion for the paym^t^ of the said rent of fortie pounds, and for performance of other the covenants & agrem^ts^ in the said lease contayned: And this def^t^ further saith that he verelye thinketh that yt ys true that, after the makinge of the said lease vnto the said Evans, he the sayd Evans dyd treat & deale w^th^ the compl^t^ Kirkham, & w^th^ one W^m^ Rastall & Thomas Kendall in the said bill of complaint named, about the settinge & makinge vpp a Companye of boyes & others to playe playes & interludes in the said Playhowse, w^ch^, as this def taketh yt, they the said Evans, Rastall, Kendall & the compl^t^ accordinglye dyd: And, as this def^t^ thinketh, the said compl^t^ & the said other persons, in Playinge apparell & other Implements & properties touchinge & concerninge the furnishinge and set-

tinge forth of Players & Playes, dyd disburse & dispend dyvers somes of money, & were, as this def^{t} hath heard, therevpon to be partners or sharers of such moneys, profitts & comodities as should arise or be made by reason of the said Playes: Howbeyt this def^{t} saith that afterwards, that ys to saye about the first yeare of his Ma^{ties} raigne [1603–4], there havinge bene betwene that tyme & the tyme of the makinge of the said lease great visitacion of sicknes in the Cittyes of London & Westminster, & the suburbes thereabouts, and by reason thereof noe such profitt & comoditie raised & made of & by the said Playhowse as was hoped for & expected, the said Evans as it seemed grewe wearye & out of lykinge wth the interest & terme of yeares w^{ch} he had in the said Playhowse, and therevpon some speach & treatie was had wth this def^{t} about the surrenderinge & givinge vpp of the said lease, & the rather vpon the importunitye & earnest intreatie of the said Alexander Hawkins vnto the said Henrye Evans, his father in lawe, to the intent that he might be freed and discharged of the said bonde of fower hundred pounds, wherein he was & stood bounde for the paym^{t} of the said rent of fortie pounds w^{ch} matters contynuinge still for a good space of tyme in speach & communicacion, at last, that ys to saye, about August in the sixt yeare of his Ma^{ties} raigne [1608] yt was fullye & absolutelye concluded & agreed betweene the said Henrye Evans & this def^{t}, vpon labour & much importunitie, of the said Evans & other his speciall frindes, that this def^{t} should take back agayne into his hands the interest & terme of yeares before graunted, & that he this def^{t} should have the same to his owne vse, and that in consideracion thereof the said other def^{t} Henrye Evans should be discharged of the said rent of fortie pounds, & the said Alexander Hawkins of his bonde of fower hundred pounds condicioned for the paym^{t} of the said rent, or to the verye lyke effect, wherevpon the same was done accordinglye, that is to saye the said lease for one & twentie yeares was surrendred & given vpp, & the indenture or deed thereof given back agayne vnto this def^{t} to be cancelled or otherwise done wth all at the pleasure of this def^{t}, and the said bond or obligacion of fower hundred

pounds entred into & made as collaterall securitye for the better & more assured paym^{t} of the said fortie pounds rent was either cancelled by this def^{t} in the presence of the said Evans & Hawkins, or ells delyuered to the one of them to be defaced & cancelled at theire pleasures. And soe the interest of the said Henrye Evans in the said Playhowse by vertue of the said lease was fullye and wholye determyned, And this def^{t} further saith that synce the tyme of the said last agrem^{t}, made & executed as aforesaid, he this def^{t} dyd never either demaunde or receyve the said rent of fortie pounds, nor anye parte or parcell thereof, of the said Henrye Evans, or anye other person or persons for him or on his behalfe. And the said John Heminges for himselfe to soe much of the said bill of complaint as concerneth him this def^{t} answereth & saith, that he verielye beleiveth that the answere of the said other def^{t} Richard Burbidge is in all & euerye matter & thinge materiall therein contayned verye just & true in manner & forme as the same are therein sett forth & declared: And for further answere vnto the said bill of complaint, both these def^{ts} traverse & saye wthout that that yt was agreed betwixt the said compl^{t}, W^{m} Rastall, & Thomas Kendall of the one partie, & the foresaid Henrye Evans of the other partie, That in consideracion that the said compl^{t}, Rastall & Kendall would disburse about the premisses in the bill of complaint mencioned the some of fower hundred pounds, The said Evans would assigne the moyetie or one halfe of the foresaid lease of the premisses & the profitts thereof duringe all the terme then to come & vnexpyred vnto the said compl^{t}, Rastall & Kendall, or the survyvour of them, Or that accordinge to the said pretended agreem^{t} the said compl^{t}, Rastall & Kendall dyd disburse the said some of fower hundred pounds about the said premisses, in manner & forme as in the said bill of complaint ys alledged. But these def^{ts} Jointlye & seuerallye saye, that they thinke that yf the said compl^{t} & the said other persons disbursed anye some or somes of money touchinge or concerninge the said Playhowse, the same was by them disbursed & layd out in playinge apparell & other implements & properties touchinge & concerninge the

furnishinge & settinge forth of Players & Playes, for w^{ch} they were to have theire ratable & proportionable parts and shares of the profitts thereby arisinge, & not for or in consideracion of the assignem^{t} of the moyetie of the said lease of the foresaid playhowse, in such manner & forme as in the said bill of complaint ys alledged: And these def^{ts} jointlye & seuerallye denye that the said Evans dyd (to these def^{ts} knowledge) assigne the moyetie or one halfe of the said premisses wth thappurtenances to Alexander Hawkins, sonne in lawe to the said Evans, vpon trust & confydence, that he the said Hawkins his executours or assignes should at all tymes vpon request reassure the said lease & the profitts thereof to the said compl^{t}, Rastall & Kendall, or the survyvour of them, in manner & forme as in the said bill of complaint ys pretended: And these def^{ts} doe further trauerse & saye wthout that that by vertue of the said pretended demyse to Hawkins, or vpon anye agrem^{t} manifestinge the foresaid pretended trust, the said compl^{t}, Rastall and Kendall receyved the profitts thereof to theire owne vses: Or that for further consideracion of the said agrem^{t} the said Evans or his assignes was weeklye to receyve of the said compl^{t}, Rastall & Kendall or the survyvour of them duringe the said terme the some of eight shillings: Or that the same was payd accordinglye in manner & forme as in the said bill of complaint ys alledged. But these def^{ts} thinke yt to be true that vpon some such agreem^{t} as before, in the answere of the said Richard Burbidge one of these def^{ts}, ys sett downe & declared, the said compl^{t}, Rastall, Kendall & the said Evans were to be partners or sharers of such moneys, profitts and comodities as should arise by reason of playes or interludes made or played wthin the said Playhowse, and soe the said compl^{t} & the forenamed persons might peradventure perceyve & take some of the said profitts and commodities w^{ch} were gotten by the said Playes or interludes wthin the said Playhowse, but not by vertue of anye assignem^{t} of the moyetie of the said lease pretended to be made as aforesaid. And these defend^{ts} further trauerse & saye wthout that that Mistris Evans wyfe of the said Henrye Evans dyd fynde the said pretended lease in the custodye of the said Hawkins, Or

dyd delyver the said lease to these def^ts^ or either of them, or anye other to theire knowledge as in the said bill of complaint ys vntrulye alledged: Or that they therevpon dyd combyne & confederate togather w^th^ the other def^t^ Henrye Evans in the bill of complaint named, to defeat the said compl^t^ Rastall & Kendall of the said premisses, & of the said lease: Or that vnder cullour & pretence thereof & of havinge the said pretended lease these def^ts^ & the said Evans have for the space of these fower yeares last past receyved the profitts of the said premisses Or that the same are worth eightscore pounds per annum besydes the rents reserved therevpon as in the said bill of complaint ys alledged. But this defend^t^ Richard Burbidge for himselfe further answereth & saith that he this def^t^, beinge seised in his demesne as of fee or of some other estate of inheritance of & in the foresaid Playhowse, hath ever sythence the said Evans surrendred & gave vpp his lease, as aforesaid, vnto this def^t^, perceyved & taken rent for the foresaid Playhowse, & some parte of such profitts as dyd arise & accrewe by such Playes & interludes as were there played, as he thinketh (the premisses considered) he lawfullye might & maye doe. And the sayd John Heminges for himselfe further answereth & saith that he this def^t^ hath for the space of fower yeares last past, or thereabouts, had & receyved, & as yet doth receyve, a certen share or porcion of such profitts as dyd or doth arise by the said Playhowse & by such Playes & interludes as were & are playd in the said Playhowse, by vertue of a demyse of some parte of the said Playhowse graunted vnto him by the said other def^t^ Richard Burbidge sythence the surrender of the foresaid lease, surrendered by the said Henrye Evans as aforesaid. And these def^ts^ further trauerse & saye, w^th^out that that Edwarde Panton in the bill of complaint named in the Right of Anne his wyfe late wyfe of the foresaid Alexander Hawkins, hath the interest of the moyetie of the said premisses to the vse aforesaid, Or that the profitts of the said premisses after the death of the said Rastall & Kendall ought to come to the said compl^t^ as survyvour, as in the said bill of complaint ys vntrulye alledged: And w^th^out that that yt is materiall vnto these def^ts^ (the pre-

misses before alledged considered) whether the said Alexander Hawkins dyed before the said lease was reassured accordinge to the pretended trust aforesaid, as in the said bill of complaint ys alledged; And w^th^out that that there ys anye other matter or thinge in the said bill of complaint contayned materiall or effectuall in the lawe to be answered vnto by these def^ts^, & herein not sufficientlye answered vnto confessed or avoyded trauersed or denyed ys true All w^ch^ matters these def^ts^ are readye to averr & prove as this most hono^ble^ Court shall awarde & humblye praye to be dismissed forth of the same w^th^ their reasonable costs and charges in this behalfe most wrongfullye had and sustayned. CHR: BROOKE

1612.'

VI.

"'Juratus 5° Novembris 1612
Jo. Amye
Clapham.

"'The Aunswere of Henrie Evans, gent', one of the def^ts^ vnto the frivelous Bill of Complaint of Edward Kirkham, gent', compl^t^.

"'The said def^t^ not confessing nor acknowledging any materiall matter in the said bill of complaint alleadged to be true saving to himself all advantages of exception vnto the insufficiencye vncertainty and contrarietye of the said bill of complaint for Answere to so much and such parte thereof as concerneth this def^t^ he saith that he thincketh yt is true that Richard Burbadge, mencioned in the said bill of complaint, was laufully seized in his demeasne as of ffee of and in the great hall scituate, lying and being in the Black ffriours, and he, being thereof so seized, did in or about the twoo and fforteth yeare of the reigne of the late Queene Elizabeth [1600] for good and valuable consideracion demise and to farme lett vnto this def^t^ All that great hall or Roome, w^th^ the Roomes over the same, scituate w^th^in the precinct of the Black ffriours, in London, then or late in the tenure or occu-

pacion of this def^{t}, for the terme and space of one and twentie yeares, commencinge at the ffeast of S^{t} Michaell the Archangell next ensewing the date of the same Indenture of Lease, for the yearely rent of ffortie powndes, quarterlie to be paid, at such daies and in such manner and forme As in and by the said Indenture, wherevnto relation being had, yt doth and maie plainely appeare by vertue whereof this def^{t} was trulie and laufullie possessed of the demised premisses for the terme aforesaid. And this def^{t} saith that afterward the compl^{t} and one William Rastall and Kendall, named in the bill, entred into communicacion wth this def^{t}, towching a ioynt benefitt and proffitt to be made, of plaies or Enterludes to be vsed in or vpon the premisses, betweene this def^{t} and the said compl^{t}, Rastall and Kendall, vpon w^{ch} communicacion they the said compl^{t}, Rastall and Kendall caused an obligacion of the somme of twoo hundred powndes, or thereabouts, to be writt and engrossed & ready to be sealed by the def^{t} and one Alexander Hawkins wth condicion, subscribed, vnderwritten or endorsed to this or like effect following: The condicion of this Obligacion is such, That whereas Richard Burbadge, of the parish of S^{t} Leonardes in Shoredich, in the countie of Midd', gent,' by his Indenture of Lease bearing date the second daie of September in the twoo and ffortieth yeare of the reign of our soueraigne ladie Elizabeth [1600], the Queenes Ma^{tie} that now is hath leased and to farme letten vnto the wthin bounden Henry Evans all that great Hall or Roome, wth the Roomes over the same, in the said Indenture mencioned, scituate in the precinct of the black ffriours, in London, to hold vnto the said Henrie Evans his executours and assignes from the feast of S^{t} Michaell the Archangell next ensewing after the date of the said Indenture, vnto the end and terme of one and twentie yeares from thence next ensewing and fullie to be complete and ended, Yeilding and paying therefore yearely during the said terme vnto the said Richard Burbadge his executours and assignes ffortye powndes of laufull monie of England, at fower ffeasts or Termes in the yeare that is to saie at the feasts of the Birth of our Lord god, the Annunciation of the blessed virgen Marie, the nativitie of S^{t} John baptist, and S^{t}

Michaell the Archangell by even and equall porcions to be paid: If now the w^th^in named William Rastall, Richard [*sic*] Kirkham and Thomas Kendall, and every of them, their and everye of their executours, administratours and assignes or assignes, shall or maie, from henceforth, during the contynuance of the said lease, haue the ioynt vse, occupacion and proffitt togither w^th^ the w^th^in bounden Henrie Evans & Alexander Hawkins, their executors, administratours & assignes, and every of them, of and in the said great Hall or Roome and other the premisses w^th^out the lett or trouble of the said Henrie and Alexander their executours administratours & Assignes or any of them or of any other person or persons by their or any of their meanes or procurement, They the said William, Richard, and Thomas their executours administrators and assignes or any of them paying vnto the said Henry and Alexander, their executours or assignes, or to some or one of them from henceforth yearely during the contynuance of the said Lease, the moietie or one half of the said yearely rent, at the fower vsuall ffeastes in the yeare, or w^th^in one and twentie daies next after every one of the same feastes by even porcions, And also bearing and paying the moitie of such charges as from tyme to tyme shalbe layd out or disbursed for in or about the reparacions of the premisses by and according to the purport true meaning and lymitation of the said Lease: And also permitting and suffering the said Henrie and Alexander their executours and assignes and every of them, to haue ioynt vse occupacion and proffitt togither w^th^ them the said William Richard and Thomas their executours administratours and assignes and every of them of and in the said great hall and premisses w^th^out their or any of their letts troubles and Interruptions, That then the said obligacion to be voyd and of none effect, or ells yt to stand in full force and vertue, As by the said Obligacion and condicion therevpon remayning w^th^ the Compl^t^ (as this def^t^ thincketh) wherevnto this def^t^ for the more certainety thereof referreth himself, yt doth and maie appeare: w^ch^ obligacion this def^t^, togither w^th^ the said Alexander Hawkins, sealed and delivered as their deed vnto the compl^t^, and the said Rastell and

Kendall: And the def^t^ further saith there were Articles of Agreement effected betweene this def^t^ and the said Alexander Hawkins on the one parte, and the said Compl^t^ Rastall and Kendall on the other parte, towching such gayne profitt and comoditie as should be made of the said premisses; as by the said Articles of Agreement being long and tedious, and therefore this def^t^ thought not meet to insert them at large in this Aunswere, w^ch^ this def^t^ nevertheles is readye to shew to this honorable Court, and wherevnto this def^t^ referreth himself maie more fully and at large appeare; vppon w^ch^ obligacion and Articles of agreement the Compl^t^ is at Libertie to seeke his remedie by the Course of the Comon Lawes of this Realme, and not to seeke relief in this honorable Court for the same, considering that this def^t^ hath a bill depending in this hono^ll^ Court against the Compl^t^ shewing causes whie in equity and Conscience the said Obligacion ought to be redelivered to be cancelled, wherevnto the compl^t^ hath made his Aunswere, and this deft^t^ this Terme hath replied therevnto; And this def^t^ for the better opening of the matters mencioned or conteyned in the said Bill, for further Aunswere therevnto saith, that the compl^t^ for righting of himself (as he supposeth) against this def^t^ did in Michaelmas Terme in the nynth yeare of the Kinges Ma^ties^ raigne comence suyt vpon the said obligacion of twoo hundred powndes against this def^t^ supposing the said obligacion had bene absolutelye forfeyted meaning to take the extreamest advantage thereof, wherevnto this def^t^ pleaded the forenamed condicion of the said obligacion, and vpon pleading betweene the said parties the same proceeded to yssue, and triall was had therevpon in Easter Terme last past before the Lord chief Justice of England in the Guildhall London; And vpon hereinge of the proufes produced of this now def^ts^ behalf, the said compl^t^ did then become nonsuyt vpon the said yssue so ioyned, as by the Record thereof remayning in his Ma^ties^ Court commonly called the Kinges bench maie appeare. Without that that this def^t^ in consideracion that the said compl^t^ Rastall and Kendall would disburse about the premisses the somme of ffower hundred powndes of laufull English monie, that in consideracion thereof this def^t^ would sufficiently

assigne the moietie or one half of the said lease of the premisses and the proffitts thereof for and during all the terme then to come and vnexpired vnto the said compl^t Rastall and Kendall and the Survivour of them; as by the said Bill of Complaint is most falsly and vntruely alleadged: And this def^t doth denie, that he w^th the consent and liking of the compl^t and the said Rastall and Kendall, did assigne the moietie or half in deale of the premisses to the said Alexander Hawkins vpon intent or purpose, that he should at all tymes at the request of the said compl^t and the said Rastall and Kendall or either of them reassure the said Lease, and the proffitts thereof to the compl^t Rastall and Kendall or the survivour of them, as in the said bill of complaint is also most falsely and vntruly alleadged, but this def^t doth confesse that it is true that there were Articles of Agreement indented made betweene this def^t and the said Alexander Hawkins on the one partie, and the said compl^t Rastall and Kendall on the other partie, manifesting that the true meaning of the said parties was y^t the compl^t and the said Rastell and Kendall should haue the benefitt and effect of the said Agreements indented as well against this def^t, as the said Hawkins; but this def^t denieth that the Articles of Agreement were to any suche effect towching any assignement to be made by the said Hawkins vnto the said compl^t Rastall and Kendall as the said compl^t in his bill of complaint hath vntruely alleadged: And this def^t further saith that the Agreements and Condicion of the said Obligacion being vpon lymitations, and the same being not perfourmed on the compl^ts parte, and so making aswell the agreement as the said obligacion void, this def^t after the breach of agreement on the compl^ts parte Rastall and Kendall to haue bene perfourmed was free and at libertie after such breach or not perfourmaunce to performe any agreement at all made in or by the said Articles of agreement, or specified in the condicion of the said obligacion, as he verelie thincketh in his conscience, and as he is enfourmed by his learned Counsaile, and as he now taketh y^t more fully by the said verdict already given against the said compl^t. And towching the Eight shillings weekely to be paid, and the some also of ffiftye twoo

pownds and ten shillings mencioned in the said Bill, alleadged as this def^{t} taketh y^{t} to be a consideracion whie the said Lease should be assigned by the said Hawkins, therevnto this def^{t} saith that there was a bond of ffiftye pownds made by the said compl^{t} and his said partnere condicioned for paiement of the said some of eight shillings weekely vnto this def^{t} because after the said agreements made, the compl^{t} and his said Parteners would at their directions haue the dietting and ordering of the Boyes vsed about the plaies there, w^{ch} before the said compl^{t} had, and for the w^{ch} he had weekely before that disbursed and allowed great sommes of monie, w^{ch} obligacion was forfeyted, and the obligacion being put in sute and readye for triall and the arrerages being great, the said compl^{t} and the said Kendall did by agreement take vp the Obligacion so made to this def^{t} and they did enter into a new bond vnto the said Alexander Hawkins, & he gave them therevpon a further daie for the paiement of ffiftye & ffower pounds as this def^{t} thincketh, and therevpon and vpon that grownd the said Alexander Hawkins by this def^{ts} agreement did satisfie vnto this def^{t} the some of ffortie and eight pownds ten shillinges and not ffiftye & twoo pownds ten shillinges as in the bill is alleadged: wthout that that this def^{ts} wife vnconscionably (finding the same supposed lease in the custodye of the said Hawkins) delivered any such supposed Lease to the said Richard Burbadge this def^{t} and John Hemminges or one of them, thereby to defeat the compl^{t} of the premisses & of any such the said supposed Lease, or that by cullour thereof they had taken the proffitts and benefitt thereof by the space of ffower yeares last past, as in the bill of complaint is vntruly alleadged, but confesseth, that long tyme before any communicacion had betweene this def^{t} and Alexander Hawkins on the one partie, and the compl^{t}, Rastall, and Kendall on the other partie, he this def^{t} did vpon meere trust and confidence and of intent and purpose to saue harmeles the said Alexander Hawkins of & from one bond of ffower hundred pownds, w^{ch} the said Alexander Hawkins, entred into vnto the said Richard Burbadge as suretie for this def^{t} for the paiement of the said rent of ffortie pownds by the yeare reserved vpon the

said Lease made by the said Richard Burbadge vnto this def^t^, vpon the earnest and ymportunate request of his this def^ts^ wife, graunt & convey vnto him the said Alexander Hawkins, who married this def^ts^ daughter, all his goodes chattells and leases, implem^ts^ howshold-stuff, wares, comodities, & all his goods. Notw^th^standing w^ch^ graunt this def^t^ kept the said originall Lease made by the said Richard Burbadge, and hath ever since enioyed and contynued the possession aswell of all his said goodes, leases, implements & other the premisses, and the same howse and roomes so leased by the said Richard Burbadge, and the proffitts thereof haue ever since bene taken disposed and ordered as yt pleased this def^t^ vntill about Aprill last was ffower yeares, And therevpon the said Articles of Agreement, w^ch^ beare date the twenteth daie of Aprill 1602 mencioned in the said bill were by this def^ts^ speciall appointement caused to be made betweene this def^t^, and the said Alexander Hawkins, being this def^ts^ speciall man in trust on the one partie, and the said compl^t^ Rastall and Kendall on the other partie, because this def^t^ was desirous to deale honestly and squarely w^th^ the compl^t^: All w^ch^ trust and confidence was often in the life tyme of the said Alexander Hawkins confessed by him the said Hawkins to be true. And this def^t^ saith that forasmuch as the said compl^t^ having not perfourmed the Agreements on his parte, and so made as aforesaid, such demaundes of proffitt, w^ch^ he pretended to haue in the premisses, to be meerely voyd, And for that this def^t^ hopeth to make yt plaine and manifest to this honorable Court that the compl^t^ and this def^t^ by his Ma^ties^ speciall commaundement being prohibited [1605] to vse any plaies there, and some of the boyes being committed to prison by order from his highnes, and so no proffitt made of the said howse but a contynuall rent of ffortie powndes to be paid for the same, that the same made the compl^t^ willing voluntarily to forgoe the same howse as this def^t^ conceaved; for the def^t^ saith that the yearely paiement of the moity of the said rent was yearely to be payd by the compl^t^, and he was also tyed by the Articles of Agreement to perfourme many other matters of charge, and therevpon, albeit long before he had not

perfourmed his agreement, yet therevpon the compl^{t}, as yt seemed to this def^{t}, was willing to free himself from the same, and in pursuing his said purpose first caused the Apparells, properties and goodes belonging to the Coparteners and Masters of the Queenes Ma^{ties} Children of the Revells (for so yt was often called) to be indifferently praised, and, vpon such praism^{t}, the same to be devided, and this def^{t} had the one half thereof, vpon such praisement and division, for his parte & proporcion, and the compl^{t} and his Sharers (as he tearmed them) had the other parte for their parts and proporcions, w^{ch} was taken & accepted of each side, the compl^{t} being then present, who seemed fully satisfied for any thing this def^{t} perceaved. Vpon all w^{ch} matters the said compl^{t}, wthdrawing himself from dealing in the premisses, returned this aunswere, that he would deale no more wth yt, for yt was a base thing, or vsed wordes to such or very like effect, And the said Copartnership quite dissolued, as by the said Articles will appeare, the Commission w^{ch} he had vnder the great Seale, aucthorising them to plaie, being in his possession, was delivered vp by the compl^{t} or by his appointement, & divers of the parteners and poetts being by him the said compl^{t} dischardged & set at libertie, as the def^{t} hopeth plainely to prove to this most honorable Court. After w^{ch} time this def^{ts} wife, and by the privitie of the said Alexander Hawkins, dealt wth the said Richard Burbadge, named in the said bill, & vpon agreement betweene them, by this def^{ts} consent delivered vp the said originall Indenture of Lease, and vpon such delivery of the said lease to the said Richard Burbadge, he the said Richard Burbadge delivered vp the said obligacion of fower hundred powndes to be cancelled, w^{ch} this def^{ts} wife, acquainting the said Hawkins wthall, deliuered vnto the said Hawkins the said obligacion to be cancelled, w^{ch} he willingly accepted and liked of. Wthout that that there was any confederacy betweene any of the def^{ts} to this def^{ts} knowledge to defeat the compl^{t} of any due or iust right proffitt or demaund, or that vnder pretence thereof the def^{ts} or any of them haue for fower yeares last past receaved the proffitts of the premisses, or that the same so demaunded by the compl^{t}

are of the yéarely value of one hundred & threescore powndes over and aboue the rent of forty powndes before mencioned to be reserved for the same, as in the sayd bill of complaint is vntruly alleadged, And wthout that that vpon the matters before shewed any interest in the premises remayned in the said Hawkins at the tyme of his death, or that the same came or ought to come to the Administratrix of the said Hawkins either in Law or equitie, as this def^{t} verely thincketh: And wthout that that any other matter or thing in the said bill materially alleadged against this def^{t} and in this aunswere not sufficiently traversed or denyed, confessed or avoyded, or otherwise answered vnto is there: All w^{ch} matters this def^{t} is ready to averre and proue as this honorable Court shall award, and so praieth to be dismissed wth his reasonable costs and charges in this behalf wrongfully susteyned. NAPPER.'

VII.

"'Saunders.

"'The Replycacion of Edwarde Kyrkam, replyant, to the jointe and seuerall answeres of Edward Painton, Henry Evans, Richard Burbidge and John Hemings, defendantes.

"'The said replyant sayth that the seuerall Answeres of the said defendants are very vncertaine in all the materiall points therein, and the same this replyant hopeth to proue to this ho^{ble} Courte and that the said bill of compl^{t} preferred by this replyant against these defendants and euery of them and all the matters and allegacions therein conteyned, are most certaine, true and just in such sorte as therein ys conteyned, And this replyant doubteth not vnder ffavour of this hon^{ble} Courte but to make true and iust proofe thereof in such sort as therein ys sett forth Neuertheles for ffurther replycacion this replyant sayth That wheras the said Evans one of the defendants in his Answere sayth that the said summe of ffouer hundred powndes was not bestowed in such sorte as in the said bill ys mencioned nor for the consi-

deracion therein expressed: This replyant sayth that, for the consideracion in the said bill mencioned, the moytie of the said lease was assured to Alexander Hawkins, deceassed, to the vse of this complaynante and of Rastall and Kendall his partners, and the other moytie to the vse of the said Hawkins, And this replyant haue [*sic*] obteyned the interest of the executors of the said Rastall and Kendall, and soe the whole moytie of the said lease and the proffitts thereof by the deathes of the said Rastall and Kendall remaineth in this replyant. And ffurther this replyant sayth that he and his partners haue disbursed the summe of two hundred poundes, over and aboue the said summe of ffower hundred poundes, ffor and towardes the apparell of the players, and other necessaryes for their prouision, and without the disbursment of the said seueral summes the said Evans, Heminges and Burbidge were not able to make any beniffitte or proffitt of the said Great Hall in such sort as hath bine and was made thereof; ffor this replyant sayth, and the same will averr and proue to this honorable Courte, that duringe such time as the said defendants Hemings and Burbidge and theire Companye contynewed playes and Interludes in the said great Hall in the ffryers, that they gott & as yet dothe, more in one Winter in the said great Hall by a thousand powndes then they were vsed to gett in the Banckside. And this replyant doth much mervell that the said Evans doeth by his Aunswere challenge any interest in the said great Hall, or of any other assureaunce concerninge the said House or playes, when that the said Evans in or about the three and ffortieth yeare of the raigne of the late Queen Elizabeth [1600] was censured by the right honorable Courte of Starr-Chamber for his vnorderlie carriage and behauiour in takinge vp of gentlemens childeren against theire wills and to ymploy them for players, and for other misdemeanors in the said Decree conteyned, and ffurther that all assureances made to the said Evans concerninge the said house or playes or Interludes should be vtterlye voyde, and to be deliuered vpp to be cancelled as by the said Decree more at large it doth and may appeare, And this replyant ffurther sayth that whereas the said Painton doth by his

said Aunswere, challenge the whole interest in the said Lease by a demise from Evans his ffather in Lawe made to the said Alexander Hawkins deceased sonne in Lawe to the said Evans whose relict the said Painton married, And soe in the right of his said wife claymeth the whole interest in the said terme ffor Aunswere thereunto this replyant saith, That well and true yt is that the said whole interest was assigned to the said Alexander Hawkins the moytie of w^{ch} Lease was vppon trust and confidence reposed by this complaynaunt and his said Parteners in him to the vse of this replyant and his said partners for the seuerall consideracions in the said Bill and herein sett forth and declared, And to be by him his executors and assignes reassured ouer to this complaynaunte and his said partners, and to such who should haue the interest thereof wth this complaynaunte, And this replyant further sayeth that the said Burbidge, one of these defendants, did diuerse and seuerall times confesse to this replyant and others that M^{ris} Evans, wife of the said defendant Henry Evans, did deliuer the said lease to him the said Burbidge; And that after the obteyninge of the said lease then the said Evans, Hemings and Burbidge practized amongest themselues how to dispossesse this said replyant and his said partners of theire interest in the moytie of the said great Hall, and of the proffitts thereof, and euer sithence, for the space of this ffouer yeares and aboue [1608–12], they haue kept the possession thereof from this replyant, without giuinge him any satisfaccion, when that this replyant and his said partners haue had and receiued the summe of one hundred poundes *per annum* for theire parte and moytie in the premisses wthout any manner of charges whatsoeuer, And, after that this replyant and his said partners had receiued the foresaid proffitts, the said Children, with [*sic;* read "which"] the said Evans in his aunswere affirmeth to be the Queenes Cheldren, were Masters themselues, and this complaynante & his said partners receiued of them, and of one Kezar, who was interest wth them, aboue the summe of one hundred and ffiftye poundes *per annum*, onely for the vse of the said great Hall, wthout all manner of charges, as this replyant will make it manifest to this honor-

able Courte, Without that that there ys any other matter or thinge, clause, sentence, article or allegacion in theire seuerall Aunsweres conteyned materiall or effectuall in the Lawe to be replyed vnto by this complaynaunte, And not herein sufficiently replyed vnto, confessed and avoyded, denied or trauersed ys true, All w^{ch} matters this complaynaunte ys readye to averr and proue as this ho^{ll} Court shall awarde, and prayeth as in his said Bill he hath already prayed. STEPH: PRYCE.

"In the answer of Evans we [*i.e.*, the *Athenæum* editor] have omitted a long statement respecting certain articles of agreement executed by Evans and Hawkins in April 1602, these having no definite bearing on the main point of interest, that being, to our judgment, the exact period at which Shakspeare and his colleagues succeeded the Children of the Revels as actors in the Blackfriars Theatre.[1] That Evans surrendered the lease of that Theatre to Shakspeare's company in 1608 clearly appears from the final decree, thus entered in the books on the 14th of November 1612:—

VIII.

"'fforasmuch as this Cort was this daie informed by M^{r} Cristofer Brooke, beinge of the defend[an]tes councell, that the pl' hath exhibited a bill into this Courte to be relieved touchinge the moytie of a Playhowse in the black ffryers w^{ch} was heretofore, vpon agreemente betwene the defen^{t} Evans and the said pl' & one Rastall and Kendall, agreed to be conveyed vnto them by the said Evans, but yet' neuertheles the said conveyance was never perfected and sealled; and that since the saide agreemente the defend^{t} Evans hath surrendred the lease of the whole playhowse vnto the defend^{t} Burbage, of whom he had formerly pur-

[1] But the documents do not help us in this. Indeed it is already known from the 1635 records as being in the winter of 1609–10: the exact date is no doubt Quarter-day, 24th December. The inference that a surrender of lease implies a change of acting company is one of the plausible errors so frequent in Shakespearean matters.—F. G. F.

chased the same; and that the said pl', nor the said Evans, vnder whom he claymeth, had ever paied any rente vnto the saide Burbage since the said surrender; wherefore, and for that the matter betwene the said pl' and defend^tes^ is principallye concerninge charges and expences disburssed in rectinge a Company of players, and for playinge apparell and other thinges touchinge playes and the proffictes and comodities ariseinge and growinge by the same, as by the Articles to that purpose doth appeare; It is therefore ordered by this Courte that the matter of the pl' bill be cleerly and absolutly dismissed out of this Courte.'"

Here end these Greenstreet documents of 1612, the most important find since Mr. Halliwell's discovery of the Blackfriars records of 1635. I have carefully printed these documents *literatim* from Mr. Greenstreet's own MSS., and I think his accuracy is not likely to be challenged. The only additions of mine are a few dates within brackets for the reader's convenience; even such palpable errors of the legal scribe as "executor" for *executors*, repetition of "should," "assignes or assignes," &c., having been left untouched. These must not be mistaken for misprints. On the contrary, this thankless task has been much lightened by the singularly accurate performance of the compositors' share of the work. I am greatly indebted to the firm who have printed this book for the care bestowed on this difficult part of it.

1612. Nov. 6.—Prince Henry died.

1613.—Taylor's Hog hath lost his Pearl was acted privately at Whitefriars by London apprentices, who "took up" that theatre for the performance on a Sunday, their audience (chiefly their mistresses and friends) being admitted by tickets. The Sheriffs heard of it, and carried them off to Bridewell. This was early in the year, before the junction of Rossiter's and Henslow's companies in March, and may have been the immediate cause of the dissolution of the Queen's Revels children. Mr. Collier, not seeing that the offence was the acting on Sunday, wrongly compares the acting of William Smith's Hector of Germany (the Palsgrave) by citizens at the Curtain, which was a perfectly

legitimate proceeding. This latter play was entered S. R., 24th April 1615, but was acted about the same time as Taylor's. Whitefriars being closed and probably dismantled on 13th July 1613, Sir G. Buc received £20 [Query, from Rossiter? or, as I think, from Henslow?] as a fee for a license to erect a new theatre in Whitefriars. It was not erected; but of this more hereafter.

CHAPTER V.

SECTION A.

INTRODUCTION (1614–1625).

DURING the years 1614 and 1615 there was a sort of interregnum in theatrical proceedings. In consequence of the burning of the Globe, the closing of the Swan, and the continuous quarrels of extortionate Henslow with his company all activity was depressed; the best poets withdrew from production; Webster and Beaumont ceased to write; and the plays presented at Court were so inferior as to cause great dissatisfaction, hardly anything beyond revivals of old plays being attempted. One typical fact will be sufficient to show the state of the degradation of the stage in this immediately post-Shakespearian time. Although Field, Massinger, and Fletcher were connected with Henslow, the one dramatist who contributed any considerable contingent to his *répertoire* was the insignificant Daborne. But after the rebuilding of the Globe in 1614 and Henslow's death in January 1616 the old state of things was revived. The Cockpit or "private house in Drury Lane" was built (the first private house erected for the use of a men's company); the Prince's players at the Curtain produced Middleton's masterpieces; and the King's men, supported by Field, Massinger, and Fletcher, entered on a new career. Their loss of their great actor Burbadge in 1619 was repaired as far as might be by the accession of Joseph Taylor, and once more they became the predominant company. Not only did they retain Fletcher as chief poet till his death in 1625, but they ultimately absorbed all the most vigorous writers who

had, so to say, served their apprenticeship with other companies. Thus in 1623 they were joined by Rowley and Middleton, which compensated for the temporary absence of Massinger, whose plays gave a powerful assistance to the Lady Elizabeth's servants, a company that in the later years of this period quite eclipsed the Prince's and stood second only to the King's. The death of Queen Anne, whose players had for some years held a very subordinate position, although followed by the establishment of the Revels company in 1619, caused a diminution of the number of companies under Royal patronage, and ultimately in the number of theatres; for these Revels men, neglected by the Court, could not keep up their competition with their rivals. They broke up and resigned their theatre to the Prince's players, whose own theatre, the Curtain, was finally closed in 1623.

A second theatre, the Fortune, was burned in 1621; but this event was of little import as compared with the destruction of the Globe. To students its principal outcome is the sparing them a mass of reading of inferior plays; for, fortunately for us, the "stock" was consumed. When the Globe was burned no plays of import appear to have been lost except Shakespeare's Henry 8 in its original form. This has puzzled modern commentators; but it is manifest that copies of all the best plays in the form in which they were presented at Court would be kept at Blackfriars. In this circumstance I find an explanation of certain plays notably Macbeth and the Tempest) having reached us only in their shortened Court presentation version.

I must not here pass over the fact that near the close of this period we have the only complete entry of the licenses of the Master of the Revels; it extends over eighteen months and includes forty-two plays, but six of these were old ones revived: hence we find that the number of new plays produced by all the companies was twenty-four per year. If we assume this to be a fair average for the fifty-five years from 1587 to 1641—and it is a much fairer basis of calculation than the years of exceptional activity recorded in "Henslow's Diary"—this will give us 1320 as the probable number of new plays produced in the whole period;

a still smaller estimate than the 2000 given by me in my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 356. Halliwell's estimate is some 20,000; but he altogether neglects the probability that ignorant Henslow's hack playwrights often imposed reformed old plays on him for new ones, takes no account of plague years (which would reduce my estimate to 1200), and multiplies the number of theatres open at one time by three. I am convinced that, making every possible allowance, my 2000 is not far from the mark, and that we have lost very little of real value.

Another important inference from this document is, that the best companies produced the fewest new plays, but had the longest runs; the King's men during these eighteen months only producing four new plays (their usual average was about four annually), the Prince's eight, and the Palsgrave's and Lady Elizabeth's thirteen each.

One of the most remarkable characteristics of this period was the freedom with which the players, in spite of the superintendence of the Master of the Revels and the vigilance of the other authorities, continued through the whole of the reign of James to introduce political matters and contemporary events on their stages. During the time of Elizabeth they did this, but they either confined themselves to matters pleasing to the Court, as in Dekker's Whore of Babylon, or carefully veiled their allusions in the disguise of analogous old time transactions, as in Sir Thomas More, Cromwell, the Earl of Essex, Richard 2. But under James, from the presentation of the Tragedy of Gowry to that of Biron's Conspiracy, from the acting of the Jeweller of Amsterdam and Sir John Olden Barnaveldt to that of the Game at Chess, their exposal of political partisanship was nakedly undisguised. These plays were of course repressed, but not till after "great concourse of people" had witnessed their performance. This repression has led modern critics to overlook or deny the influence of the stage on politics, and it is only recently that it is beginning to be recognised. But fortunately the repression was incomplete. Thus, to confine my observations to the salient instances here noted, Gowry and the Jeweller of Amsterdam are lost, but the Biron plays

were printed in a mutilated condition, and their very mutilation tells their story. The Game of Chess was printed (surreptitiously, for no license of it appears in the "Stationers' Registers"), and Barnaveldt (like the earlier Sir Thomas More) has reached us in manuscript. Had Mr. A. H. Bullen done nothing more than rescue this play from its oblivion among the British Museum MSS., where it had been examined by Mr. Halliwell and cast aside as worthless, he would have established no small claim on the gratitude of dramatic students.

Of the general characteristic features of this period what I have to say might be summed up in a name: it was the Silver Age of the drama. The Golden Age of Shakespeare, Jonson, Chapman, Webster, and Beaumont had passed away. It was the age of Fletcher, but of Fletcher supreme, aided by Field, Jonson, Massinger, but aided as it were privately; their names do not even appear in the title-pages of the plays to which they, especially Massinger, contributed so largely. It is only in the encomiastic verses of Cockain that we have direct evidence of Massinger's contributory help, which was yet as great at least as Beaumont's, whose name has unjustly extruded his from any place in the title of the collected Folio; though, had this contained the whole works of Field and Massinger, and had their names been added to the title, his would then, by the right of superior genius, still have claimed the first position. It was an age of show: Jonson, by his Masks, was unconsciously paving the way for the Drama of the Restoration, although set scenes and female actors had as yet no place on the public stage. It was an age of slipshod work. The easily imitated Fletcher line, so monotonous in method, and the Massinger weak line, which often is as hard to distinguish from measured prose as the iambics of Dickens or Musæus are from "Thalaba" or "Queen Mab" verse, alike point to the easy trickling rapid writing, which has since reappeared in the long poems of Wordsworth, and is still more evident in the longer ones of our now[1] contemporaries, who swerve

[1] I must not be supposed to include in this censure such noble examples as Swinburne's "Locrine" or Michael Field's "Callirrhoe."

daily further from the normal examples of Milton, Landor, Shelley, and Henry Taylor. It was an age of general flabbiness, in which the intricacies of Spanish plots were preferred to the masculine presentations of character by Shakespeare and Jonson; the splendour of stage dress was beginning to be thought of rather than the excellence of acting; the pungency of topical allusion was supplanting the philosophic monologues of Biron and Hamlet; the Caracci were succeeding to the sceptres once wielded by the scenic Raphael and Michael Angelo. And yet is this same Euripidean age worthy of careful study, for it transcends all subsequent periods as much as the Sophoclean age of Shakespeare surpasses it.

SECTION B.

PERFORMANCES AT COURT (1614–1625).

a. Plays.

1614. Nov. 1.—Nathan. Field was paid 11th June 1615 for Bartholomew Fair, presented before the King 1st Nov. [by the L. Elizabeth's men].

1617. July 11.—John Townsend and Joseph Moore were paid for 3 plays before the King in his journey towards Scotland [by the L. Elizabeth's men].

1618. Apr. 6, 7.—John Hemings was paid 20th April for 2 plays, one on Easter Monday (Shakespeare's Twelfth Night), one on Easter Tuesday (Shakespeare's Winter's Tale) by the King's men, before the King.

1618. May 3.—The Merry Devil of Edmonton [by Drayton] was played before the King by the King's men. J. Hemings was paid May 15.

The above entries are from the Treasurer's Office Books. Compare Table, p. 178.

The following Table is from Sir H. Herbert's ("Variorum," iii. 225–227) and Sir J. Astley's Office Books (for 1621–2 only. *Ibid.*, p. 146):—

Date.	Company.	Play.	Author.	Acted at	Before
1621-2. Christmas festivities	King's	Island Princess	Fletcher		
		Pilgrim	Fletcher		
		Wildgoose Chase	Fletcher		
1621. Dec. 26, St. Stephen's	King's	Spanish Curate	Flet. [Mass.]		
Dec. 27, St. John's	King's	Beggar's Bush	Flet. [Mass.]		
Dec. 30, Sun. after Xmas	King's	Pilgrim	Fletcher		
1622. Jan. 1, New Year	King's	Alchemist	Jonson		
Jan. 6, Twelfth N.	Prince's	A vow and a good one			
Feb. 2. Candlemas	King's	Malvolio [Twelfth Night]	Shakespeare		
1623. Sep. 29, Michaelmas	King's	Maid of the Mill	Fletcher	Hampton Court	
Nov. 1, All-Hallows	King's	The same, reformed	Flet., Rowley	St. James'	Prince.
Nov. 5	Cockpit	Gipsy	Mid., Rowley	Whitehall	Prince.
Dec. 26, St. Stephen's	King's	Maid of the Mill	Flet., Rowley	Whitehall	King and Prince.
Dec. 27, St. John's	Queen [of Bohemia]'s	Bondman	Massinger	Whitehall	Prince.
Dec. 28, Innocent's	King's	The Buck is a Thief		Whitehall	King and Prince.
1624. Jan. 1, New Year	King's	Wandering Lovers	Fletcher	Whitehall	Prince.
Jan. 4, Sunday	Queen of B.	Changeling	Mid., Rowley	Whitehall	Prince.
Jan. 6, Twelth N.	King's	More dissemblers besides Women	Middleton	Whitehall	Prince.
Jan. 18	King's	Winter's Tale	Shakespeare	Whitehall	Duchess of Richmond.
Nov. 2	King's	Rule a wife and have a wife	Fletcher	Presented by the Lord Chamberlain	"The ladies."
Dec. 26, St. Stephen's	King's	The same	Fletcher	Whitehall	Prince.
Dec. 27, St. John's	King's	"The Fox by the ——"	Jonson	Whitehall	[Prince] and Duke of Brunswick.
Dec. 28, Innocent's	King's	Cupid's Revenge	Flet., Beau. [Field]	Whitehall	
1625. Jan. 1, New Year	King's	1 Sir John Falstaff	[1 Henry 4.] Shak.	Whitehall	Prince.
Jan. 6, Twelfth N.	Qu. of Bohem.	Tu Quoque	Cooke	Whitehall	Prince.

The column of authors' names is supplied by me, and must, in disputed cases, be regarded as conjectural until the publication of my next book.

b. Masks at Court (1615–1625).

[1615. Jan. 6 and 8].—Jonson. Mercury vindicated from the Alchemists at Court by [the Prince's] Gentlemen, the King's servants.

1615. Mar. 7.—The King was at Cambridge in Mar. 1615. On the 7th St. John's presented Emilia, a Latin comedy by Mr. Cecill, on a "counterfeit Sir Edward Radcliff, a foolish Doctor of Physic: which proved but a lean argument."

Mar. 8.—Clare Hall, with the help of David Drummond in a Hobby horse, and Brakyn, the Town's Recorder, as the chief actor, presented Ignoramus by George Ruggle, "full of mirth," but more than five hours in the acting.

Mar. 9.—Trinity College presented Albumazar, by Mr. Tomkis.

Mar. 10.—The same College presented Melanthe, a Latin Pastoral, by Mr. Brookes.

Mar. 13.—King's College was to have presented Phineas Fletcher's Sicelides, a piscatory, but the King left that morning. It was acted without him.

1616. [Jan. 1 and 6.]—Jonson. The Golden Age restored. Presented by the Lords and Gentlemen the King's servants. [Jonson, 1616 Folio ends here.] My dates for these Masks will be considered in my future work under Jonson. The dating of this Mask as "1615" is the printer's, not Jonson's.

N.B.—Mask expenses were borne by the presenters, generally the King, Queen, Prince, Lords or Ladies of the Court, or Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, and therefore do not appear in the Master of the Revel's documents: he had not control over them as he had over stage plays.

1616.—Jonson. Christmas, his Mask, was probably presented this year on Dec. 25. It was certainly not the Mask of the following year, as asserted by Nichols and Collier, in which the Earl of Buckingham and the Earl of Montgomery danced with the Queen (cf. Nichols, iii. 243).

1617. Jan. 6, 19.—Jonson. The Vision of Delight was presented on Twelfth Night, when the afore-mentioned dancing took place, and again on the 19th Jan. before the Spanish Ambassador Pocahontas was presented on 6th Jan.

1617. Jan. 17.—The Middle Temple presented a Mask to the Earl of Buckingham.

1617. Feb. 22.—Jonson. The Lord Hay and his friends

presented an entertainment [The Vision of Lethe] to Baron de Tour, the French Ambassador, at the Wardrobe.

1617. May 4.—Robert White. The young gentlewomen of the ladies' hall "at Deptford in Greenwich" presented Cupid's banishment to the Queen.

1618. Jan 3.—A Mask of 9 Ladies as Amazons (Lady Hay being the Amazon Queen) was prepared at their own cost, but not allowed. Was this the same as the "Mask of the Disappointed Ladies"?

1618. Jan. 6; Feb. 17.—Jonson. Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue was presented before the King on Twelfth Night and Shrove Tuesday. Although I shall have to repeat it hereafter, I must here note, in defence of the dates which I give to these Masks, that Jonson's year began on 1st January, not 25th March. This is known from the dates assigned by him to Lethe, which is dated 22nd February 1617, not 1616, as most people at that time would have written it. Even accurate Nichols failed to note this, and he has misdated the majority of the Masks of Jonson by a year. As for Collier's and Lieut.-Col. Cunningham's dates, they are simply absurd. In Pleasure Reconciled Prince Charles made his first appearance. See my article in "Shakespeariana," June 1884, which, *more Transatlantico*, is crowded with misprints.

1618. Feb. 16, Shrove Monday.—[Marston.] The Mask of Mountebanks was prepared by the Gentlemen of Gray's Inn for Court presentation on Shrove Monday. They had already acted it at Gray's Inn on 2nd February to entertain Sir Francis Bacon, the Lord Chancellor; but the Banqueting Room at Whitehall was wanted to prepare for the Prince's Mask of the next day [Pleasure Reconciled, not the Vision of Delight, which was not a Prince's Mask], they had to present it in Lent on the 19th. It was, says Chamberlain, more a show than a Mask, "seeing they were not disguised nor had vizards." This is the Mask printed by the Shakspeare Society.

1619. Jan. 6.—A Mask was presented at Court and "well liked" (Chamberlain, Nichols, iii. 521), but not by the King,

who regretted Jonson's absence (Drummond's letter of 17th January 1619, printed in Gifford's Life of him, p. xlvii.). In the face of this, Gifford, Collier, and Cunningham agree in dating some Mask of Jonson's in January 1619. He did not return to London till May 1619, and had been away since September 1618.

1619. Summer.—Jonson. Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue was again presented by the King's special command, with the addition of For the Honor of Wales.

1621. Jan. 8.—The King was presented with a Mask at Essex House (Lord Doncaster's).

1621. Aug.—Jonson. The Gipsies Metamorphosed was presented to the King on his Progress: at Burley-on-the-Hill, Aug. 3; at Belvoir, Aug. 5; and at Windsor in September.

1621. Aug. 26.—B. Holiday's Technogamia was acted before the King (by the Christ Church students) at Woodstock.

1622. Jan. 6; May 6.—Jonson [and I. Jones]. The Mask of Augurs was presented.

1623. Jan. 19.—Jonson and I. Jones. Time Vindicated to himself and to his honors was presented. It had been prepared for Twelfth Night, but put off. A "Prince's Mask."

1624. Jan. 6.—Jonson and I. Jones. Neptune's Triumph was prepared, but put off.

1624. April. 16.—Mansfeldt came to London, and was "royally entertained" with shows, devices, &c., in the production of which Jonson was not employed. I believe that Middleton was.

1624 [c. June 5, Sheep-shearing].—Jonson and I. Jones. Pan's Anniversary, or the Shepherd's Holiday, was presented before King James. Lieut.-Col. Cunningham tells us this piece was presented to James in 1625, *i.e.*, after his death. He should have added where, and quoted his authority.

1624. c. Aug. 1.—A Mask by young Maynard was presented to James at the Duke of Buckingham's, Burley-on-the-Hill (Nichols, iii. 986).

Some other references to Nichols are sufficiently indicated by the dates. It would encumber the book too much to quote vol. and page on all occasions.

Aug. 19 (Nichols, iii. 997).—Jonson. The Mask of Owls at Kenilworth was presented [before the Prince] by the ghost of Captain Cox mounted on his hobby horse.

1625. Jan. 9.—Jonson [and I. Jones]. Neptune's Triumph, with the addition of the Fortunate Isles and their Union, was presented, "the Prince only being there" (Herbert MS.). It was meant for Twelfth Night, but put off. Nichols discovered in the Museum a copy of a quarto with the true date (iii. 1026). Jonson was soon after struck by paralysis, and did not write a Mask for some years

As it is important for Dramatic History to know with whom of the nobility the authors of Masks—Jonson, Beaumont, Chapman, Campion, &c.—were brought into immediate contact at their production, I appended, p. 183, such lists as I could get at of the performers at Court. The dates will enable the reader to refer for fuller particulars to the notices aleady given, and so again here the following lists of Court performers are of considerable importance in determining the dates of Jonson's Masks:—

	1617–18, Nichols, iii. 464.	1618–19, Nichols, iii. 521.	1619, Honor of Wales.
The Prince	*	*	*
Buckingham	*	*	*
Hamilton	*	...	*
Montgomery	*	*	*
Theoph. Howard	[*]	...	*
Thom. Howard	[*]	*	*
G. Houghton	*	...	*
Auchmuty	*	*	*
Abercromby	*	*	*
Palmer	*	*	*
Hodges	*	...	...
Young Maynard	...	*	...
H. Rich	...	*	...
C. Rich	...	*	...
Carr	...	...	*
Erwin	...	...	*

The 1617–18 Mask was Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue. The Howards are not mentioned by name in the list in the letter of Chamberlain quoted by Nichols, but are implied in the "some other Lords." Carr is not the Earl of Somerset, but Sir Robert Car, who, as well as Erwin, was one of "the Prince's gentlemen" in

1619. One of these probably performed in Pleasure Reconciled in 1617–18, as Chamberlain's incomplete list does not give the twelve names necessary for that Mask. The other seems to have replaced Hodges, of whom I know nothing. The almost complete identity of the two lists shows that I am right in assigning the date 1617–18 to Pleasure Reconciled, and that Gifford and his followers are wrong. Gifford, in an absurd note, confuses "The Marquis," *i.e.*, Hamilton, with Somerset, Marquis of Worcester.

SECTION C.

COMPANIES (1614–1625).

1. The Lady Elizabeth's and the Prince's men continued in conjunction until the death of Henslow, January 1616, or nearly so. Before they separated an effort was made to obtain a better theatre for them than the Hope. On 31st May 1615 a Privy Seal for a Patent was granted to Philip Rossiter, Philip Kingman, Robert Jones, and Ralph Reeve to convert into a [private] playhouse premises in Blackfriars, near Puddle Wharf, called Lady Sanders' house or Porter's Hall, and occupied by R. Jones. The theatre was to be used by the children of the Queen's Revels, the Prince's players, and the Lady Elizabeth's, *i.e.*, by the three companies at this date combined under Henslow (Collier, i. 380). But Chalmers ("Variorum," iii. 493) gives the name of the house as Lady Sancler's (Sinclair's), and also gives in full the order (26th September 1615) of the Privy Council to the Mayor to forbid Rossiter, &c., to proceed in the converting this building into a playhouse. It states that on the complaint of the Mayor they had ordered Rossiter to produce his Patent, and that the Lord Chief-Justice, having read it, decided that the license was only for a site "without the liberties of London and not within the city." All which is inconsistent with the Patent given in Collier, which Chalmers did not know of. Is it authentic, or one of the Collier forgeries? However, one play, Field's

Amends for Ladies, is known to have been acted in Blackfriars by the servants of the Prince and of Lady Elizabeth, and as it can hardly be supposed that the King's men resigned their theatre to these players, it must have been at Rossiter's theatre. This temporary removal from the Hope on the Bankside is alluded to in a letter (undated, but clearly written in "the cold winter," 1615–16) to Allen after Henslow's death, and therefore c. February 1616, from his chief players. (Field had left them and joined the King's men.) Almost an identical list is appended to an agreement between Allen and Meade on the one part and these players on the other, in settlement of their transactions with Henslow deceased. It appears from the document that they were still playing at the Hope (Alleyn, p. 128). The playhouse in Puddle Wharf was ordered by the Council, at the King's command, to be demolished 26th January 1617 ("Variorum," iii. 494). I suspect this date should be 1616. For in 1617, on 4th March (Shrove Tuesday), a mob of apprentices, &c., partly demolished the newly erected private house in Drury Lane, called the Cockpit from the building which had previously occupied this site; and, as this theatre was occupied by the Lady Elizabeth's men, some months at least must surely have elapsed between the final failure of the Blackfriars project and the completion of this new one. At any rate in 1616–17 the Lady Elizabeth's company had separated from the Prince's, and acted at the Cockpit until the end of James' reign. A list of its members (dating c. July 1622) is given, "Variorum," iii. 60, from the Herbert MSS.:—

1. Christopher Beeston.
2. Joseph Moore.
3. Eliard Swans[t]on.
4. Andrew Cane.
5. Curtis Greville.
6. [William] Sherlock.
7. Antony Turner.

They are called "the chief of them at the Phœnix," the name often given to the Cockpit after its restoration; and they continued to act at that theatre till the accession of Charles I. After 4th November 1619 the Lady Elizabeth was Queen of Bohemia and is often mentioned by that title.

2. When the Lady Elizabeth's men separated from the Prince's, 1616–17, these latter went to the Curtain, where they acted till it was closed finally in August 1623, when before the 19th they removed to the Bull. We have several lists of them during this time:—

1. The signatures to the complaint to Allen, c. February 1616.
2. The signatures to the articles of agreement with Allen, 20th March 1616.
3. The actors in the Inner Temple Mask of Heroes 1619 [January] by Rowley and Middleton.
4. The list of the Prince's men, 27th March 1625, published by the New Shakspere Society.

It appears from these lists that no considerable secession took place from this company between March 1616 and 1625. I therefore assign conjecturally the date of the separation of the companies to January 1616 rather than January 1617. The only difficulty lies in the date of the destruction of Rossiter's Blackfriars Theatre in 1617, January 26; but it is, of course, quite possible that the Lady Elizabeth's men acted there during 1616.

	c. Feb. 1616.	20th Mar. 1616.	Jan. 1619.	27th Mar. 1625.
William Rowley . .	1	1	Plum Porridge	3
Robert Pallant . . .	2	2	...	...
Joseph Taylor . . .	3	3	Dr. Almanac	[with King's].
Robert Hamlen . .	5	4	...	1
John Newton . . .	4	5	Fasting Day	6
Hugh Attawel . . .	6	6	New Year	[d. 25th Sep. 1621].
John [Antony] Smith	7	9	...	2
William Barkstead .	...	7	...	...
Thomas Hobbes . .	...	8	...	8
William Penn . . .	...	10	...	5
William Carpenter .	...	...	Time	4
Gilbert Reason . . .	...	...	...	7

3. The King's men acted at the Globe and Blackfriars as previously. We have many lists of them during this period. It will be convenient to relegate those derived from the Fletcher 1679 Folio to a separate table, and to enumerate the other lists here.

1. The list in the Patent of 27th March 1619 (17th Jac.).

On 21st January 1619 Harvey, the Lord Mayor, raised the question of the difference between public and private theatres. There were two main differences originally: one in the buildings, the other in the occupying companies. It could not be denied that the Blackfriars building was that of a private house. It had no open yard, but a covered pit, and the performances were by candlelight, &c. But Harvey, seeing that the Burbadges had put in, in 1610, men players instead of children, maintained that they had made it a public playhouse, which, by reason of the resort of coaches, had become a nuisance, by causing blocks of traffic, &c. It being within the City, he took it on himself to order its suppression. He had the prescription of nine years against him, and, what was more to the purpose, he had interfered with the company under the King's immediate patronage. Before 13th March (for Burbadge's name is in the Patent, and he died on that day) they had obtained a Privy Seal for the extant Patent, specially authorising acting as well at the Globe as at the "private house situate in the precincts of Blackfriars, within the city of London," whenever the plague bill was below forty weekly.

2. Between August 14 and 27 the King's men acted Barnaveldt, by Fletcher and Massinger, in spite of its prohibition by my Lo[rd Mayor] of London. Mr. A. H. Bullen, "Old Plays," iv. 381, assigns the power of prohibition to the Bishop (!) of London, but gives no authority for this remarkable innovation in stage history. The play was popular, but was evidently suppressed, for the editors of the Fletcher Folios did not dare to include it in their collection.

3. A list of players is prefixed to Webster's Duchess of Malfi; but in several instances it is hard to make out whether the performance of c. 1612 or that of 1619–22 is meant. I have separated them as well as I could.

4. The will of Nicholas Tooley (*alias* Wilkinson; he may have got the nickname from playing in some revival of the old play of Tooley), 3rd June 1623, contains mention of several of his fellows.

5. c. 3rd August 1624, Middleton's Game at Chess was acted

at the Globe "nine days together," and it is said in an old MS. insertion in a copy of the play (Chalmers' "Apology," p. 500) that £1500 was taken at the doors, an average of £166, 13s. 4d. per night. This looks exaggerated; probably the real amount was £150. No doubt higher entrance money than usual was charged. A full account of the whole matter is given in Dyce's excellent edition of Middleton, i. xxviii., &c. The Spanish Ambassador complained to the King of the scandalous representation of his Majesty, the King of Spain, Gondomar, the Bishop of Spalato, &c. The King remembered that [after the trouble about Chapman's Byron] representing modern Christian kings had been inhibited, and ordered that the poet and the company should be brought before the Council. Secretary Conway wrote to them to that effect from Rufford on 12th August. The company appeared before them and produced Herbert's signed and allowed copy of the book, and declared they had not varied from that copy. Middleton shifted out of the way, and a warrant was issued for his apprehension. The company were bound over to stop playing and to attend again when called for. The Council sent the copy as licensed to the King, and, as Herbert was in attendance on him, suggested that the King might examine him himself. (The Privy Council's Answer, 21st August.)

On 27th August Conway replied from Woodstock that his Majesty leaves the discovery of the guilty party to their Lordships' wisdom, but desires a severe punishment. (Thus far Chalmers' "Apology," p. 497 *seq.*) And on the same day, 27th August, Pembroke writes to Viscount Mandeville, President of the Council, that his Majesty thinks a further punishment [than a fortnight's inhibition] would prejudice "his poor servants," and desires they would "connive" at their acting, but not that play. The bond of £300 must still hold for that. (This letter was first published by Dyce.)

On August 30 a warrant was issued to bring "one Middleton, son to Middleton the poet, before their lordships to answer." That same day his son Edward [not Thomas] Middleton appeared before the Council and was indemnified, but enjoined to attend

till discharged by order ("Council Register," *apud* [1] Chalmers, as corrected by Mr. Hornby, "Sh. Soc. Papers," ii. 105). This shows that the Pearson copy memorandum cannot be depended on, for it states that Middleton was imprisoned, and got out by a rhymed petition to the King.

On 20th December ("Variorum," iii. 209) the players made a humble submission to Herbert, admitting that the play of the Spanish Viceroy had been acted by them, but had not been licensed nor allowed.

6. On 27th March 1625 a grant for Cloak, &c., was made to the King's men to attend his funeral (New Sh. Soc. Trans.).

	1619, 27th Mar.	1619, Aug.	D. of Malfi.	1623, 3rd June.	1624, 20th Dec.	1625, 27th Mar.
John Hemings	1	...	...	...	...	1
Richard Burbadge	2	...	...	...	...	...
Henry Condell	3	...	...	*	...	...
John Lowin	4	Barnaveldt	Bosola	...	2	2
Nicholas Tooley	5	B.'s wife	Madman	*	...	15
John Underwood	6	...	Delio	*	...	...
Nathaniel Field	7	...	...	...	...	...
Robert Benfield	8	Captain	Antonio	...	9	11
Robert Gough	9	Leidenberch	...	...	...	...
William Eccleston	10	...	...	*	...	...
Richard Robinson	11	...	Cardinal	...	3	6
John Shank	12	...	...	...	4	8
Joseph Taylor	...	...	Ferdinand	*	1	10
William Rowley	...	...	...	...	8	...
John Rice	...	Captain	Pescara	...	6	12
Elyard Swanston	...	...	...	...	5	9
Richard Sharp	...	...	Duchess	...	10	5
Thomas Pollard	...	Bredero / Holderus	Silvio	...	7	14
Richard Perkins	...	...	...	...	...	3
George Vernon	...	...	...	...	...	7
James Horne	...	...	...	...	...	13
John Thomson	...	...	Julia	...	...	...
George Birch	...	Vandort	...	...	11	4
Thomas Holcombe	...	Provost's wife	...	...	...	...
Michael	...	Huntsman	...	...	...	...
?R. T.	...	Officer, &c.	...	...	...	...
?G. Lowin	...	B.'s daughter	...	...	...	...

So much erroneous induction has been heaped up with regard to the list of the Shakespeare Folio (1623, November 8, S. R.) that it is worth while to give it separately, and then the list from the second Folio of Fletcher.

[1] Dyce and Collier follow Chalmers' erroneous statement.

The Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays before 8th Nov. 1623.

	Came.	From	Dead.
1. William Shakespeare .	1587	Leicester's	1616, Apr. 23.
2. Richard Burbadge . .	1592	Queen's	1619, Mar. 13.
3. John Hemmings . .	1587?	Leicester's?	1630, Oct. 10.
4. Augustine Phillips . .	1587?	Leicester's?	1605, May.
5. William Kempe . . .	1587	Leicester's	c. 1606.
6. Thomas Pope	1587	Leicester's	1604, Feb.
7. George Bryan . . .	1587	Leicester's	after 1600.
8. Henry Condell . . .	1592	Queen's	1627, Dec.
9. William Slye	1592	Queen's	1608, Aug.
10. Richard Cowly . . .	1592	Queen's	1619, Mar.
11. John Lowine	1603	Worcester's	1658, Mar.
12. Samuel Crosse . . .	c. 1594	[Kempe's] boy	c. 1595.
13. Alexander Cooke . .	1592	Hemmings' boy	1614, May.
14. Samuel Gilburne . . .	1603	Phillips' boy	after 1605.
15. Robert Armin . . .	1603	L. Chandos'	after 1611.
16. William Ostler . . .	1610	1 Queen's Revels	c. 1616.
17. Nathan Field	1616	L. Elizabeth's	1633, Feb.
18. John Underwood . .	1610	1 Queen's Revels	1624, Oct.
19. Nicholas Tooley . . .	1592	Burbage's boy	1623, June 4.
20. William Ecclestone . .	1610	1 Queen's Revels	c. 1623.
21. Joseph Taylor . . .	1619	Pr. Charles'	1654.
22. Robert Benfield . . .	1616	L. Elizabeth's	after 1647.
23. Robert Gough . . .	1592	Pope's boy	1625, Feb.
24. Richard Robinson . .	1611	[? Tooley's] boy	1647, Mar.
25. John Shank	1619	Palsgrave's	1636, Jan.
26. John Rice	1616	L. Elizabeth's	After 1625.

Actors in Fletcher's Plays by the King's Men, 1616–1624.

	c. 1616. Valentinian.	c. 1616. Bonduca.	c. 1617. Queen of Corinth.	1618, Nov. 16. Loyal Subject.	c. 1618. Knight of Malta.	1618–19. Mad Lover.	1619. Humorous Lieut.	c. 1620. Woman Pleased.	c. 1620–1. False One.	c. 1620. Little French Lawyer.	c. 1620. Custom of the Country.	c. 1620. Double Marriage.	c. 1621. Laws of Candy.	c. 1621. Pilgrim.	c. 1621. Island Princess.	1622, May 14. Prophetess.	1622, June 22. Sea Voyage.	1622, Oct. 24. Spanish Curate.	1623, Aug. 29. Maid in the Mill.	1623, Dec. 6. Lover's Progress.	1624, May 27. Wife for a month.
Ric. Burbadge .	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Wil. Ostler . . .	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Hen. Condell . .	3	3	3	3	2	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Joh. Lowin . . .	5	4	4	5	6	2	3	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	1	1	2	3	3	2	..
Joh. Underwood .	4	6	5	4	5	..	6	3	3	5	7	5	4	4	3	..	4	..	5	4	4
Wil. Egglestone .	..	5	..	8	..	4	4	4	..	4	4	..	3	..	5	..	3	2	..	..	..
Nic. Tooley . . .	..	7	6	6	..	..	..	6	4	2	5	6	5	3	..	4	5	5	..	..	5
Ric. Robinson . .	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Nat. Field . . .	..	..	2	2	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tho. Pollard . .	..	..	7	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	8	..	..	4	6	..	..
Tho. Holcombe .	..	..	8	..	8	..	..	8	..	8	8	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	6	..
Ric. Sharp . . .	..	..	..	7	7	6	5	7	7	6	6	8	7	..	7	7	..	6	..	..	..
Rob. Benfield . .	..	..	..	..	4	3	7	5	5	7	2	3	..	5	4	3	..	..	4	3	2
Jos. Taylor . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Jam. Horn . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Joh. Thompson .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	7	..	..	..	..	2	8	..
Geo. Birch . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	7	..	6	6	6	..	..	..	7	6
Joh. Rice . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Joh. Shank . . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..
Wil. Rowley . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	..	..

From the stage directions in Fletcher we also learn that R. Bax[ter] acted in the Mad Lover, iv. 1, in 1618; John Bacon, Rowl[ey] and Ashton in the revived Love's Pilgrimage (as altered), which must therefore date c. 1624; Rowland [Rowley] in the Chances, iii. 3, c. 1625–6; and T. Tucke and Curtis [Greville] in the Two Noble Kinsmen, 1625. We know from the Duchess of Malfi list that Ostler was succeeded by Benfield (1616), Burbadge by Taylor (1619), and Condell by Robinson (1619). These lists are of the greatest value in determining the dates of production of the plays. The table for Fletcher falls into three main divisions:—(1) When Burbadge and Ostler were acting, 1615–16; (2) when Burbadge and Field were acting, but not Ostler, 1617–19; and (3) when Taylor was acting, 1619–25

4. The Queen's players acted at the Bull till her death, 2nd March 1619. They attended her funeral on 13th May, and were allowed four yards each of black cloth. On 8th July 1622 they obtained a Privy Seal for a new company, to be called the children of the Revels. This third Revels company (or fourth, if we reckon the "King's" Revels) were, however, a men's company. The list of 1622 is identical with that in the Herbert MSS. ("Variorum," iii. 60).

I have now once more to express my obligations to Mr. James Greenstreet for his permission to include in this work reprints of the many important documents discovered by him. The batch here given consists of eight, namely:—

i. Bill of Complaint, Worth, Cumber, and Blaney v. Baskerville, filed 23rd May 1623.
ii. Susan Baskerville's answer.
iii. Order of adjournment to next term, 24th Nov. 1625.
iv. Order of the Court for Injunction to Shaw, 27th Jan 1626.
v. Herbert's letter, 25th April 1626.

vi. Order for continuance of reference, 26th April 1626.
vii. Dismissal of the Bill, 9th June 1626.
viii. Final order; costs not allowed, 23rd June 1626.

Now for the facts of the case, as far as they concern stage history, in the interpretation of which I differ in some points from Mr. Greenstreet.

1612. August–September.—Thomas Greene died. He was a shareholder and principal comedian of Queen Anne's players at the Red Bull. His widow proved the will, 10th October, and claimed of the Queen's men £37 for money disbursed by him, as well as £80, as the value of his one share, on the ground that George Pulham's relatives had at his death received £40 for a half-share which had belonged to him. Mr. Beeston refused this, especially the £80. She then petitioned the Earl of Leicester, Chamberlain of Queen Anne's household, for relief. He ordered the company to satisfy her right demands. The company pleaded poverty, but agreed to pay her a half of their total profits till the £117 was discharged.

In June 1613 she married James Baskervile (her third husband). The company had then paid only £6. About June 1615 Baskervile, at the instigation of Worth, purchased of the company for £57, 10s. a life-pension of 20d. *per diem* for the joint lives of Baskervile and his wife, or the longest liver of them. The bond for this was sealed 7th July 1615, but they broke their covenants on 20th July—within a fortnight—and by June 1616 were in arrear £72. The Baskerviles then advanced £38 more, on condition of the pension being increased to 3s. 8d. *per diem* for each day on which the players performed during the lives of Susan Baskerville and her son Francis. On July 26 the players again broke their covenants. In Lent 1617 James Baskervile went to Ireland. The players then owed to William Browne (a son of Susan's by her first husband) £16, 9s. 9d. wages for acting; to Susan, £13, 7s. 2d., arrears of the 20d. pension, and £9, 9s., arrears of the 2s. pension. William Jourdan, trustee for Susan Baskerville and William Browne, sued them for these debts,

at a cost of £6, 13s. 4d. Then the players agreed to a new grant of 3s. 8d. *per diem* to Susan Baskervile and William Browne (in place of Francis Baskervile). The deed was dated 3rd June 1617, *anno* 15 James I.

Here we come on the part of this transaction which is important for stage history, and the only part which Mr. Greenstreet (not having my independent investigations before him) has misinterpreted. The indenture contains the names of the twelve shareholders of the Queen's men in 1617, and at that time they were evidently treating for an amalgamation with the Lady Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit. But instead of this amalgamation a new company, that of the Revels, was formed (patented in 1622, but acting at the Bull before this, 1619–1622); and although some of the Queen's men did not continue with it, but did go to the Cockpit, these Revels men continued to act at the Red Bull until 1623, when they broke, and some of them went abroad, while the majority followed the example of those who had left them in 1617, and also joined the Lady Elizabeth's players. It was this 1623 breaking that occasioned the lawsuit, the real question being whether these men, now acting as members of a different company and at a different theatre, were bound by an agreement entered into while they were the Queen's men at the Red Bull. All the talk about Beeston being bribed, their poverty, and excessive usury, is mere by-play to throw dust in the eyes of the judge.

It was on 16th June 1623 that Ellis Worth, John Cumber, and John Blaney applied to Chancery for relief from continuing their payment, on the ground of a verbal agreement that the payment was to continue only so long as any four of this Queen Anne's company should play together in any playhouse in or within two miles of London. Now, the last notice of the late Queen Anne's company, otherwise the company of the Revels, acting at the Red Bull is on 10th May 1623. Prince Charles' men were acting there on 12th July. Between these two dates the Revels company broke, and of its seven known members of July 1622, Worth, Comber, Blaney, and Robinson had joined the

Lady Elizabeth's men at the Cockpit; Christopher Beeston and Thomas Heywood having made the same change of service between 13th May 1619 and 8th July 1622. Two others of the seven, Lee and Basse, had gone abroad, and the seventh, Perkins, had joined the King's men. Clearly the Revels company had been virtually absorbed into the Lady Elizabeth's, and these men were bound to keep up their covenants although acting under a different patron. So thought the Court, although they allowed no costs. Surely a righteous decision. I now give the documents (but without Mr. Greenstreet's remarks on i., ii.), which were printed in full for the New Shakspere Society 10th April 1885, abstracts having previously appeared in the *Athenæum* on 21st February.

The text of the documents runs as under. I am responsible for the attempted restoration of missing words enclosed in brackets:—

'*Chancery Proceedings, James I., Bills & Answers, W. 2, No. 67. Worth, &c.*, v. *Baskervyle, &c.*

"[i. Bill of Complaint.]

" (Exhibited) 'xxiij. Maij 1623.

" ' To the right honourable and right Reuerent father in God John, Lord Bishopp of Lincoln, and Lord keeper of the great Seale of England.

" ' Humbly complayning, Sheweth vnto your good Lordshipp, your dayly oratours Ellis Worth, of London, gentleman, John Cumber, of the same, gentleman, and John Blany, of London aforesaid, gentleman, all late servants and players to the late Queens most excellent ma^tie^, That whereas Susan Baskervile, now the reputed wife of James Baskervile and late the wife of Thomas Greene deceased, did about nyne or tenn yeares since, presently after the decease of hir said husband Thomas Greene who was a fellowe player w^th^ your oratours, pretend that there was divers sommes of money behind and due from your oratours and the rest

of your oratours fellowes for and in regard of some reckonings betweene the said Thomas Greene and your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes. W^ch^ said somme of money she the said Susan Baskervile then pretended to be upon the account of hir said husband Thomas Greene about the somme of thirty pounds. And whereas your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes at that tyme and long before and since did put the managing of thier whole businesses and affaires belonging vnto them ioyntly as they were players in trust vnto Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston,[1] of London, gentleman, who was then one of your oratours fellowes, She the said Susan Baskervile, well knoweing the same, and that whatsoever the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston did promise your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes would allowe of the same, repayred vnto the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston and acquaynted him w^th^ hir demaunds, desiering some satisfaction for the said debt so due vnto hir deceased husband Thomas Greene. But finding the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston to be something Backward in giveing any satisfaction vnto hir the said Susann Baskervile, she the said Susann begann to insinuate w^th^ the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, alleadging vnto him that it should be no way preiudicial vnto him the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston if he would but drawe your oratours and the rest of the company to allowe of hir demaunds; for that she the said Susann would give him twenty pounds for kindnes therein, and would likewise give vnto the rest of the company twenty pounds more, So as they would but grant some annuity vnto hir in lieu thereof. Vpon w^ch^ offer of hir the said Susann Baskervile, the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston and she the said Susann Baskervile fell to this agrement, that, in regard of the poverty of your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes, she the said Susann Baskervile shold not be payd the money she demaunded, but that in lieu thereof, and for the consideration of twenty pounds more to be

[1] Note this *alias*. Beestone (*apis-lapis*) seems to have been a stage name, like Nicholas Tooley's, who had probably performed in the play of Toolie, and whose real name was Wilkinson.

given amongst the company, your oratours, together w^th^ him the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, Thomas Haywood, Francis Walepool, Robert Reynolds, William Robins, Thomas Drue, and Emanuel Read, Should graunt vnto the said Susann Baskervile two seuerall annuityes amounting in all to three shillings and eight pence by day for sixe dayes in the weeke, viz., two shillings by one grant, & one shilling eight pence by the other, for and during the naturall life of hir the said Susann Baskervile and ffrancis Browne, and the longer liver of them, so longe as your oratours and the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, Thomas Haywood, Francis Walpoole, Robert Reynolds, William Robins, Thomas Drue, and Emanuel Read, or any foure of them, should play together; w^ch^ promise, soe made by the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes, then conceiveing the said Susan Baskerviles debt to be very great, and in truth more then it was, but yet not examyning the same, condiscended to pay the said three shillings and eight pence by the day, and did pay it by the space of five veares; about w^ch^ tyme the said Francis Browne dyed, and then she the said Susann Baskervile repayred agayne vnto the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, and for some reward and brib of money given vnto him, the certeynty whereof your oratour[s] knoweth not, obteyned of the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston a promise that he himself, together with your oratours and the rest of thier then fellowes, should pay the said three shillings and eight (*sic*), so formerly graunted, for and during the life of hir the said Susann Baskervile and William Browne, another of the sonnes of hir the said Susann Baskervile, in such sort and mannour, and during the same tyme the said former three shillings and eight pence was to be payd vnto hir the said Susann Baskervile and Francis Browne hir sonne deceased. Vpon w^ch^ promise of him the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston the said Susann relying, yet fearing if she had not some security for the same she might at any tyme [be] questioned, and so long [lose ?] the said three shillings, eight pence per diem, She the said Susann repayred vnto a Scrivenour,

desiering him the said Scrivenour to drawe vp a grant for the said three shillings, eight pence per diem from your oratours and the rest of thier then fellowes vnto one William Jourdan, for and in trust to the use [of] them the said Susann and William Browne hir said sonne, and the longer liver of them; and did allso give directions vnto the said Scrivenour to drawe up in the said graunt or annuity of three shillings and eight pence per diem divers other covenants, and to make also seuerall bondes for performing of the said covenants. According vnto w^{ch} instructions so given by hir the said Susann vnto the said Scrivenor, he the said Scrivenour did drawe vp a grant of annuity of three shillings and eight pence per diem from your oratours and the rest of thier then fellowes vnto the said William Jourdan, vnto the vse of the said Susann and William Browne hir sonne, and the longer liuer of them, With other covenants and bonds also for performance of the said covenants, as by the said deed of Indenture and bonds may appeare. W^{ch} being so drawn up and perfected, she the said Susann Baskervile repayred vnto the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston, desiering him to seale the same, and allso to procure your oratours and the rest of thier then fellowes; thier being at that tyme some others new come into your oratours company, w^{ch} were of other companyes at the tyme of graunting the first annuity. Whereupon, the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston acquaynting your oratours and the rest of thier said company therewth, your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes condiscended to seale the same, they being altogether ruled by the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston who had the sole managing of all thier affayres, and accordingly repayred vnto the said Scrivenour for to seale some indenture or grant to the same purpose. But Soe it is, may it please your good Lordshipp, That when your oratours, before they wold seale any indenture or grant, did take the said indenture drawn by the said Scrivenour to read it over, your oratours and the rest of thier fellowes then found a covenant in the said Indenture, that if it hapned any of them that then were to seale the said Indenture to dy or to depart from thier company vnto another play house,

That then the Survivours or remaynders of them shold procure such other person and persons as should be admitted to play or ioyn in company w^th^ the said Survivours and remaynders, insteed of them so dying or departing, to enter and become bound w^th^ the said Survivours and remaynders in the like covenants, condicions and bonds as the said person or persons so dying or departing as aforesaid were bound in; w^th^ other covenants as by the said Indenture more at large doth and may appear. W^ch^ said Indenture, when your oratours and the rest of thier said fellowes had read and vnderstood how, contrary to thier meaning, thier was such a preiudicial covenant to thier vtter vndoeing, yt not lying in thier power to perform the same w^th^out the consent of such as should come anew into thier company, and conceiveing it to be very hard for them being poore men to pay above threescore pound per annum for litle or nothing, Your oratours and the rest of the said company vtterly refused either to seale the said Indenture or bonds. Yet, at length, your oratours and divers of the company who had formely sealed to the first grant, being perswaded therevnto in re[spect] the said Susann Baskervile did faythfully promise that, notw^th^standing the said covenant, neither your oratours nor any of thier said fellowes should be tyed to pay the said three shillings and eight pence per diem for sixe dayes in the weeke any longer then they or any foure of them did play together in any play house or other place w^th^in the Citty of London, or w^th^in two miles of the same Citty, or at the Kings Ma^ties^ Court of estate wheresoever it shalbe. Vpon w^ch^ promise and agrement your oratours and some fewe of the rest of thier fellowes, for some refused, did about one thousand, six hundred and seaventeen, in the fifteene yeare of his Ma^ties^ raigne, bond (*sic*) seale the said Indenture, and seuerall bonds of a hundred marke apiece for performing the covenants; the meaning being only for the true payment of the said three shillings, eight pence by the day so long as they or any foure of them that sealed the same should play together as aforesaid. According to w^ch^ Indenture and agrement your oratours have ever since continued the payment w^ch^, together w^th^ five yeares before said last recited

grant, your oratours have payd the said three shillings, eight [pence] per diem about tenn or eleaven yeares, in w^{ch} tyme she the said Susann Baskervile hath received from your oratour[s] at the least the somme of five hundred pounds; and yet she the said Susann Baskervile never gave any other consideration then as aforesaid, w^{ch} in truth doth not amount vnto one yeares value, as she hath received. Since w^{ch} tyme all your oratours said fellowes that sealed to the said deed of Indenture and bonds are dead, or departed from your oratours to some other company, So that in all right the said payment is and ought to cease; and the said William Jourdan is likewise dead. Yet Soe it is, may it please your good Lordshipp, that she the said Susann Baskervile, pritending the trust to remayne to hir notwthstanding the death of the said William Jourdan, or some assignment to hir, or some other to hir use, pritendeth that your oratours ought still to continue the payment thereof, and likewise threathneth your oratours to arrest them upon thier seuerall bondes of a hundred markes apiece if your oratours will not both pay the same and allso procure such others as are now come into your oratours company to enter into the said covenants afor recited, contrary vnto all equity, and contrary to hir direct promise and agrement, and to the vtter vndoeing of your oratours, thier wives and children, except your oratours shalbe herin by your Lordshipp relieved. In tender Consideration whereof, for as much as your oratours are not able by the strict course of the comon lawe to make such profe of the said agrement & promise that the said payment should continue no longer then any of your oratours, thier then fellowes, or any foure of them, did play together, as by the strictnes of the said comon law is required; And in regard your oratours have for these tenn or eleaven yeares payd above threscore pounds a yeare for fiftye pounds at the most as she pretends; Which excessive usery, also, if it might in any fashion be suffred, will turne to the great preiudice not only of your oratours but the whole comon wealth, in regard of the ill president thereof; May it therfore please your good Lordshipp, the premisses considered, to grant vnto your oratour[s] his Ma^{ties} most gracious writt of

Subpœna directed to the said James Baskervile the reputed husband of the said Susan Baskervile, and also to Susann Baskervile his reputed wife, and to William Browne, comaunding them and every of them personally to be and appeare before your Lordshipp in his Ma^ties high court of Chauncery, and then and ther to declare upon thier oathes the truth of the premisses, and whether she the said Susann Baskervile did not make such a promise as aforesaid; and likewise to sett downe what consideracion she ever gave vnto your oratours; and further to stand to and abide such order therein as vnto your Lordshipp in your wisdome shall seeme most meet and agreable to equity and good conscience. And also to grant vnto your oratours his Ma^ties most gracious writt of Iniunction, to stay all proceeding upon the said seuerall bonds vntill your Lordshipp shall have heard and determined the same. And likewise to shew cause why she should not deliuer up the said Indenture & bonds to be cancelled. And your oratours, according to thier bounden duty, shall ever pray for your Lordshipp long life w^th increase of honours.

"'NATH. FINCH.'

"[ii. Answer.]

"'Vterque Juratus xvj° Junij 1623.

"'The ioinct and seuerall answeres of Susan Baskervyle and William Browne, two of the Def^tes to the Bill of Compl^t of Ellys Worth, John Comber newly deceased, & John Blany, compl^tes.

"'The said Def^tes, savinge to themselues now and att all tymes all advantages and benifitt of excepcion to thuncertainties and all other thimperfeccions and insufficiences of the said bill of Compl^t, for full and perfect answere therevnto doe say, That true it is That the said Thomas Greene, deceased, in the bill of Compl^t mencioned, late husband of the Def^t Susan Baskeruile, about the Tyme in the said bill expressed, was a fellow Actor or player of and in the Companie of the Actors or Players of the late queenes

Ma^tie Queene Anne, then vsuallie frequentinge & playinge att the signe of the Redd Bull in S^t Johns Street, in Clerkenwell parishe, in the County of Midd'; And was one of the principall and cheif persons of the said Companie, and a full adventurer, storer and sharer of in and amongst them; And did in his life tyme and not long before his death laie out or disburse in and for diuers necessarie Prouisions for the said Companie of Players the somme of seauen & thirty poundes, or theraboutes as neere as these Def^tes canne collect the same, of the proper monies of the said Thomas Greene. And they further say, that att and by the death of the said Thomas Greene, hee beeing a full and whole storer and sharer of and in the said Companie of Players, there accrued and grew due vnto this Def^t Susan, beeing his wife & executrixe, the somme of fowerscore poundes more, as due and payable for and in respect of her said Late husbandes full share, as aforesaid, payable by the suruivours of the saide Companie of Players, by and according to an agream^t amongst themselues formerlie made in that behalfe Concerninge the part and share of euerie one of the sharers and halfe Sharers of the said companie according to the Rate and proporcion of their shares or half shares in that behalfe. According to w^ch agream^t thexcutors or assignees of George Pulham, sometymes a half sharer of and in she said companie, who died one of the said Companie not long before this Def^t Susans said husband, hadd forty poundes of the suruivours of the said companie for and in respect of his half share in that behalfe. And these Def^tes further say, that about Tenne yeares now last past the said Thomas Greene made his last will and testm^t in wryting, and therin made this Def^t Susan his then wife his executrixe; And in or about the moneth of August 1612 the said Thomas Greene died. After whose decease the said Def^t Susan duely proued the said will, and tooke on her thexecucion thereof. By force wherof the said debt of seauen and thirtie poundes, or theraboutes, and the said fower score poundes for and in respect of the said full share of the said Thomas Greene, did of right belong vnto this Def^t Susan in course, as aforesaide. And not long after shee repayred vnto the

said Hutchinson and others the then fellowes of the said companie of Players, and demaunded of them satisfaccion and paym^t^ of the said seuerall somes of the said seauen and thirty poundes or therabouts, and of fowerscore poundes, so due and payable as aforesaid. Butt the said companie refusinge to make satisfaccion vnto the said Susan of the said seuerall somes according to her said demaunde, especially touching y^e^ said fowerscore poundes, Shee the said Susan was informed, and accordinglie did peticion the Right Honorable the now Earle of Leicester, then Lord Chamberlaine of the Howshould of the said late deceased queene Anne, who hadd a kind of Gouernm^t^ and suruey ouer the said Players, for her releife for and concerninge the getting of the said seuerall somes of monie; who writt to the said Companie that they should satisfy the Def^t^ Susan of her right demaundes w^th^out further troubling of him theraboutes. Whervppon the said companie were contented and did agree to allowe and paie the said seuerall somes of seauen and thirtie poundes and Eighty poundes vnto the Def^t^ Susan, out of the gaines or proffitt to arise or growe by the said company, as well knowinge and accknowledginge the same to be iustlie due vnto her in Course, as aforesaid. Butt the said Company pretendinge that they were then poore and vnable to make presente satisfaccion vnto this Def^t^ Susan of the said seuerall somes, It was att last agreed betweene her and the said companie, And shee in respect of their pouertie was Content to accept the said monie to bee paid vnto her out of the proffittes and by a full half share out of the gaines of the said Companie, from tyme to tyme as it came in, vntill shee should haue receaued therby the said full somme of seauen and thirty poundes, or theraboutes, and allso the said some of ffowerscore poundes. And these Def^tes^ further say, That afterwardes, that is to say in the moneth of June 1613, the said Def^t^ Susan married and tooke to husband the other Def^t^ James Baskeruile in the bill named. Att the tyme of whose intermariage there [remained] due and vnsatisfied vnto the Def^t^ Susan the said seuerall somes of seauen and thirtie poundes and eightie poundes, saving sixe poundes, or theraboutes, in seuerall paym^tes^ out of the proffittes of the said half

share w^ch^ shee receaued somme two moneths before her said mariage w^th^ the said James Baskervyle. And these Def^tes^ further say, That in or about the moneth of June 1615 the said other Def^t^ James Baskervyle, beeing first moued thervnto by the Compl^t^ Worth, did treat w^th^ the then fellowes of the said Companie for the purchase of a pencion of twentie pence by the daie to bee paid by the said companie out of the proffittes of the playing for the Lyues of the said James and Susan and the longest liuer of them, W^ch^ beeing dryuen to a full conclucion amongst them, the said James Baskervyle did thervpon disburse and paie vnto the said Compl^t^ Worth, and to one Rychard Perkins, and to the said Christopher Huttchinson alias Beeston, and to the rest of the said Companie, beeing all of them at that tyme fellowes and full sharers of and in the said companie, seuerall somes of monie amounting to ffiftie seauen poundes tenne shillinges of the proper monies of the said James Baskeruile and of this Def^t^ Susan. And in consideracion thereof, and according to the said Conclucion betwixt them, hee the said James Baskeruile, in or about the seauenth daie of Julie 1615, hadd and tooke a graunte from the sharers of the said companie for the paym^t^ of twentie pence per diem vnto the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t^ Susan his wife during their liues, and the longest liuer of them, for euery of six daies in the weeke wherein they should plaie, for and in recompence of such monyes last mencioned as amounted to the somme of seauen and fifty poundes tenne shillinges, as aforesaid. And the said sharers of the said companie did enter into seuerall covenauntes, vnder their handes and sealles, to and w^th^ the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t^ Susan to paie vnto them the said somme of one shillinge eight pence per diem for euerye of sixe daies in the weeke wherin they should play duringe the lyues of the said James Baskeruile and of this Def^t^ Susan, and the longest liuer of them, as aforesaid. And att or about the same tyme, allso, the said sharers of the said Companie entred into diuers bondes in seuerall somes w^th^ condicions for the performance of the said Covenauntes. And these Def^tes^ further saye, That after the said covenauntes entred into, as aforesaid,

the persons therin named, or somme of them, duely paid vnto the said James Baskeruile the said twenty pence per diem for a short tyme only; for on or about the seauen and twentieth daie of the said moneth of Julie 1615 the said persons brake their said Couenantes w^th^ the said Def^t^ Baskeruile by their not paym^t^ of the said twentie pence per diem in manner and forme aforesaid, By meanes whereof the said bondes for performance of the said covenauntes became forfeyted. And the said companie did make such ill and badd paym^tes^ from thenceforth of the said pencion that, by reason therof, and for and in respect of such parte and so much of the said seauen and thirtie poundes debt, or theraboutes, and Eightie poundes [in respect of the said] full share, as aforesaid, as was vnpaid out of the proffittes of the said halfe share allotted for the paym^t^ therof, as aforesaid, the said companie in or about the moneth of June 1616 were arere, and rested indebted vnto the said James Baskeruile and to this Def^t^ Susan, as in her right, in the somme of threescore and twelue poundes, or theraboutes, as neere as they canne collect the same. Whervppon, and in consideracion of seuerall somes of monie besides amounting to Eight and thirtie poundes more satisfied and paid by the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t^ Susan to the said Hutchinson alias Beeston and to the said Perkins, to the Compl^t^ Worth, and the rest of the said Companie; And allso for and in Consideracion that the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t^ Susan should and did remitt vnto the said Companie of Players the some of threescore and twelue poundes then arere and due as aforesaid; Namely, in all for the Consideracion of one hundred and tenne poundes more, the said Companie of Players did agree with the said Baskeruile to paie vnto, or for the vse of this Def^t^ Susan Baskeruile and ffrancis her sonne, since deceased, two shillinges per diem more besides the said twenty pence per diem, in the whole three shillinges, eight pence per diem for euery of sixe daies in euerye weeke wherin they should play during the liues of this Def^t^ Susan and of the said ffrancis Baskeruile her late sonne, and the longest lyuer of them. And to that purpose diuers of the said Companie of Players entred

into other Covenauntes, w^th^ seuerall bondes allso for the performance therof, as by the said seuerall covenauntes and bondes aforemencioned, to w^ch^ for more certaintye in that behalfe these Def^tes^ referre themselues, maie appeare; the same nor anie of them being in the handes or power of them, or either of them, but yeilded vp vpon taking of the latter Covenauntes and bondes herafter mencioned. And on or about the sixe and twentieth daie of July 1616 the said persons mencioned in the said Covenauntes for the said twentie pence and two shillinges per diem broke their said seuerall Couenantes and bondes thervpon. And these Def^tes^ further say, that in Lent then next followinge the said James Baskeruile, for somme reasons w^ch^ these Def^tes^ desire they maie bee spared from expressinge, departed this realme and w^th^drew himself into the kingdome of Ireland, where hee yett remaineth, as these Def^tes^ haue heard and doe beleiue. And these Def^tes^ further saie, that afterwardes the somme of sixeteene poundes, nine shillinges and nyne pence, or theraboutes, beeing due vnto the said William Browne for wages belonging vnto him for acting in the said Companie; And allso there beeing in arere and due vnto the Def^t^ Susan vppon the said first mencioned Covenauntes, for the non paym^t^ of the said pencion of twentie pence per diem, the somme of Thirteene poundes, seauen shillinges, two pence, or theraboutes; And allso, for the non paym^t^ of the said other pencion of two shillinges per diem, the somme of N[ine] poundes, [nine] shillinges more, or theraboutes; in all the somme of Nyne and thirtie poundes, fiue shillinges, eleauen pence, or theraboutes; The said William Jorden, in the bill named, for and in the name of the said James Baskeruile and this Def^t^ Susan, and by lawfull warrant, [power] and appointm^t^ in that behalfe, did putt the said bondes for the performance of the said last mencioned Covenauntes in suit of lawe against the seuerall persons therin mencioned, to the verie great charges and costes of the Def^t^ Susan, amounting to sixe poundes, thirteene shillinges, fower pence, or therabouts. And afterwardes the said Companie, beeing desirous to bee whollie freed and released from the paym^t^ of the said costes and charges att lawe, as allso from the paym^t^ of the said wages due vnto this

Def^{t} Browne, and from the paym^{t} of all tharrearages of the said seuerall somes of monie for the said seuerall pencions due to the said Def^{t} Susan as aforesaid, Itt was agreed by and betwixt these Def^{tes} and the said Jorden on their behalf, And for the said James Baskeruile, of the one part, and the said Compl^{tes} and others the then fellowes and sharers of the said Companie of thother parte, for a finall Conclusion of all differences betwixt them, that the said Companie should bee discharged of all the said arrearages of pencions and wages, and of all the said costes except seauenteene poundes, ten shillinges, parcell of the said arrearages, wages and costes; And that in Consideracion therof the said former covenauntes and bondes should bee discharged, and the said ffrancis Baskeruile beeing now dead, the said companie should make and renew a new Covenant for both the said pencions all vnder one amountinge to the somme of three shillings, eight pence per diem to the said Jorden in trust for these Def^{tes} during the liues of these Def^{tes} and the longest liuer of them, therby alteringe the name of the said James Baskeruile into this Def^{t} Brownes name, for twentie pence per diem parcell therof, and adding this Def^{t} Brownes name in stead of the said ffrancis Baskeruiles name touchinge two shillinges per diem residue therof; And that the said companie should giue securitie by seuerall bondes for the performance of the said intier pencion of three shillinges, eight pence per diem, And the Covenauntes therof, and should allso by three other bondes giue securitie for the paym^{t} of the said seauenteene poundes, tenne shillinges att three payementes by fiue poundes, sixteene shillinges, eight pence att a payment att daies agreed on, and long since past. And accordinglie the said Christopher Huttchinson alias Beeston, Thomas Haywood, the Compl^{t} Ellys Worth, the Compl^{t} John Comber then lyuing, but now newly [deceased, Francis] Walepoole, the Compl^{t} John B[l]anie, William Robyns and Thomas Drewe, beeing all fellowes and Sharers of the said Companie, and now comme, or shortlie to comme from the said Playhowse called the Redd Bull to the Playhowse in Drurie Lane called the Cockpitt, by their Deed indented, bearing date on or about the third daie of June in the

fifteenth yeare of the raigne of our now soueraigne Lord King James ouer England, hadd and made betweene the said seuerall persons last mencioned and the said Richard Perkins, one Roberte Reynoldes, Thomas Basse and Emanuell [Reade], Sharers allso of the said Companie of thone parte, And the said William Jorden in the bill named of thother parte, did for the consideracion of a Competent somme of monie, to them before the seallinge of the said Deed indented mencioned to bee paid by the said William Jorden on the behalfe of the Def^{tes} Susan and William Browne, intendinge therby the Consideracion aforesaid w^{ch} was the true consideracion in that behalf, Covenant and graunt to and wth the said William Jorden his executours & assigns, to paie and allowe vnto the said William Jorden, his executours or assignes, To thonly use of these Defendants Susan and William duringe their liues or the life of the longest liuer of them, the somme of three shillinges, eight pence per diem for sixe dayes in euerye weeke wherin the said Huttchinson alias Beeston, Perkins, Haywood, the Compl^{tes} Worth and Comber, Walepoole, Reynoldes, the Compl^{t} Blany, Basse, Robins, Drue, and Reade, or anie fower of them, should plaie together in anie Playhowse or other publique stage wthin the citty of London, or wthin two miles therof, anie interlude, comedie, tragedie, or other play, for w^{ch} they or anie fower of them should receaue or take anie monie; the said daylie paym^{t} of three shillinges, [eight] penc[ce] per diem, to be paid att the play howse called the Cockpitt in Drurie Lane, or att such other place or play howse wthin two miles of London, where the said Players or anie fower of them should Play together, allwaies and immediatlie after the receipt of their monie w^{ch} should bee gotten for [performance of any] plaie as aforesaid, if the Def^{tes}, or either of them, or anie for them or either of them, should bee there to demaunde or receaue the same; Butt if default should bee made of such demaunde by the said William Jorden his executours or assignes, That then the said Huttchinson alias Beeston, Perkins, Heywood, the Compl^{tes} Wroth and Comber, Walepoole, Reynoldes, the Compl^{t} Blanye, Basse, Robyns, Drewe, and Read, or one of them, should on the Satterdaie of euerye weeke, or all-

waies w^th^in fiue daies next after the Satterdaie of euery weeke during the tyme aforesaid, paie vnto the said William Jorden, his executors or assigns, or to one of them, to the vse of these Def^tes^ during their liues, and the life of the longest liuer of them, att the place or places of paym^t^ aforesaid, So manie of the said daylie paym^tes^ of three shillinges, eight pence per diem as by such default of demaunde, or otherwise, should bee behind [and] vnpaid according to the true intent of the said Deed Indented. And allso did therin further covenaunt and grant to and w^th^ the said William Jorden, his executours and assignes, That if itt should happen anie of them the said Huttchinson alias Beeston, Perkins, Heywood, the Compl^tes^ Worth and Comber, Walepoole, Reynoldes, the Compl^t^ Blany, Basse, Robyns, Drewe, and Reade to dye or departe from the said Playhowse, That then the suruiuours and remainders of them should procure such other person and persons, as should bee admitted to plaie w^th^ the said suruivours or remainders instead of him or them soe dyeinge or departinge from the said Playhowse, to enter and becomme bounde w^th^ the said survivours and remainders in the like Covenauntes, Condicions and bondes as the person or persons so dying or departing from the said Playhowse were bound in to the said William Jorden, for the more sure paym^t^ vnto [the] said Jorden, to these Def^tes^ vse during their lyues, and the longest liuer of them, the said dayly paym^t^ of three shillinges, eight pence per diem; w^ch^ said Collaterall Covenauntes, bondes and assurances, so to bee made, should bee so made, sealled and deliuered to the said Jorden, his executours and assigns, to the vse aforesaid [at] or before such tyme or tymes as such person or persons should bee admitted to play or ioyne in Companie w^th^ the said Suruivours and remainders instead of him or them so dying or departing from the said Playhowse; as by the said Indenture of Covenauntes remayninge in the Custody of the Def^t^ Susan, whervnto these Def^tes^ referre themselues, it doth and maie appeare. W^ch^ said Indent^r^ was sealled and deliuered by all the parties thervnto, except the said Perkins, Reynoldes, Basse and Reade, who neuerthelesse were parties to the said agream^t^ for the same, and did promise to seall

it. And these Def^tes further say, That on or about the said tyme of the sealling & deliuery of the said last mencioned Deed Indented of Covenauntes the said Christopher Hutchinson alias Beeston and the Compl^t John Comber entred into one bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the penall somme of sixty three poundes; And the Compl^t Ellys Worth, William Robyns, and ffrancis Walepoole att the same tyme entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of other sixty three poundes; And att the same tyme allso the said Thomas Heywood, the Compl^t John B[l]any, and the said Thomas Drewe entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of other sixtie three poundes; All of w^ch said three seuerall bondes or obligacions were alike condicioned for performance of the said Covenauntes in the said last mencioned Deed Indented contayned. And allso att or shortlie before the same tyme, and after the said last agream^t, in expectacion or towardes the performance therof, the said Christopher Huttchinson alias Beeston and the Compl^t John Comber entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the penall somme of tenne poundes, wi^th condicion to paie fiue poundes, sixteene shillinges, eight pence at a daie then to comme and now past; And the Compl^t Ellys Worth, William Robins, and ffrancis Walepoole entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of tenne poundes, w^th like condicion to paie fiue poundes, sixteene shillinges, eight pence at a daie then to come and now past; And allso the said Thomas Heywood, the Compl^t John Blanie, and the said Thomas Drewe entred into one other bond or obligacion vnto the said William Jorden in the like penall somme of tenne poundes, w^th like condicion allso to pay fiue poundes, sixteene shillinges, eight pence vpon the last day of August 1617. All w^ch said seuerall bondes or obligacions, both for the performance of Covenauntes and allso the said bondes for the paym^t of the said three seuerall sommes of ffiue poundes, sixteene shillinges, eight pence a piece, were allso sealled and deliuered vnto the said William Jorden by

the seuerall and respectiue persons in the said bondes or obligacions seuerally and respectiuely mencioned, to the vse of the said Def^t^ Susan and William, and in trust for them, and in performance and execucion of the said finall and latter agream^t^. And these Def^tes^ and the said Jorden did thervppon discharge the said Compl^tes^, and others of the said Companie, of and from the said former seuerall covenauntes and bondes for the said twentie pence and two shillinges per diem, And of and from the said arrearages of wages, pencion and costes, except the said seauenteen poundes, tenne shillinges, parcell therof, w^ch^ was and ought to bee now secured as aforesaid, and wherof two paym^tes^ were performed and the bondes for the same since then deliuered vpp; but the last of the said bondes beeing for fiue poundes, sixteene shillinges, eight pence, payable the said last daie of August 1617, is yett vnsatisfied. And this Def^t^ Susan Baskeruile for herself saieth, That shee beleiueth it to bee true that the Compl^tes^ and the rest of their said companie, before and since the decease of her said late husband Thomas Greene, did putt much affiance in the said Huttchinson alias Beeston concerninge the managing of their affaires, Butt knoweth not that the said Huttchinson had anie such power ouer the said Companie of Players as in the said Bill is alleaged. And this Def^t^ Susan further Confesseth, that after the decease of the said Thomas Greene, whose executrix shee was, shee the said Susan repayred vnto the said Christopher Huttchinson alias Beeston, and to the rest of the said Companie, and demaunded satisfacion of such somes of monie as the said Companie then owed vnto her said deceased husband Greene; Butt shee absolutely denieth that shee did anie way insinuate w^th^ the said Huttchinson alias Beeston therby to drawe the Compl^tes^ and the rest of the said Companie to allowe of her said demaundes, Or did offer to giue to the said Huttchinson alias Beeston the somme of twenty poundes in the bill mencioned, or anie other somme or sommes of monie whatsoeuer for his kindnesse therein, or to anie such purpose as in the bill is surmised. Or that the said Susan offered to giue vnto the said

Companie the somme of twenty poundes more, or anie somme of monie whatsoeuer to graunt vnto her anie annuitye in Lieue therof, as in the said bill is vntruely suggested. And this Def^t^ Susan further absolutely denieth, That vppon anie offer of the said Susan to the said Huttchinson alias Beeston they fell to such agreament, That in regard of the Compl^tes^ pouertie and of the rest of their fellowes, This Def^t^ should nott be paid the monie shee demaunded, but that, in Lieue therof, And for twentie poundes more to bee giuen to the Companie, the Compl^tes^, together w^th^ the said Huttchinson alias Beeston and the rest in the bill named, should graunt vnto this Def^t^ two seuerall annuityes amountinge in all to three shillinges, eight pence per diem, as in the said bill is allso vntruely alleaged; Or [that she entered into any] other agream^t^, or in anie other manner then as these Def^tes^ haue before sett foorth. And this Def^t^ Susan absolutely denieth that the said Compl^tes^ and the rest of their said fellowes for anie promise of the said Hutchinson alias Beeston, Or for their conceyvinge her debt to [be very great and more] then it was, or w^th^out examininge the same, did agree to pay the said three shillinges, eight pence per diem, or did paie the same for fyue yeares vnto this Def^t^; Or that the said graunt of three shillinges, eight pence per diem was made for anie other Consideracion, or in anie other manner [than is heretofore at] large expressed. And shee allso saieth, that about Michaelmas 1616 the said ffrancis Baskeruile dyed, And this Def^t^ Susan vtterly denieth that for anie reward or bribe of monie whatsoeuer giuen vnto the said Huttchinson alias Beeston by the said Susan or by anie other person [acting under h]er priuitie or direccion the said Huttchinson alias Beeston promised That the Compl^tes^ and the rest of their fellowes should paie the said three shillinges, eight pence for the life of the Def^tes^ Susan and William, in such sorte & manner, and during the said Tyme, that the said [daily sum of three shi]llinges, eight pence was to bee payde vnto the said Susan and ffrancis Baskeruile her sonne, deceased, As in the said Bill is falsely surmised. And these Def^tes^ doe absolutely denie, That for anie the

cawses in the said bill alleaged the Def^{t} Susan repayred vnto [any scrivenor] in the bill mencioned to drawe vpp the said graunt of three shillinges, eight pence per diem from the Compl^{tes} and the rest of their fellowes vnto the said William Jorden in trust and to the vse of these Def^{tes} and the longer liuer of them, or gaue the said Scriuenour direccions to draw any [covenants in] the said graunte of three shillinges, eight pence per diem other then such as were truely intended and agreed to be putt therin. Butt these Def^{tes} doe confesse, that vpon composicion wth the Compl^{tes} and their fellowes for the said graunte of three shillinges, eight pence per diem, these Def^{tes} [did employ] a Scriuenour to drawe vpp the said graunte in manner and forme as before is expressed by these Def^{tes}, wth such bondes for performance of Covenauntes and paym^{t} of monies vnto thee said Def^{tes} as aforesaid, w^{ch} was in all thinges agreable to true agream^{t} betwixt them and the said Compl^{tes} and their fellowes. And these Def^{tes} absolutely denye, That the said Compl^{tes} and the rest of their fellowes did agree to sealle the said graunt as beeinge ruled by the said Hutchinson alias Beeston, or anie wayes by him vnduely drawen or perswaded thervnto. And these Def^{tes} doe Confesse, That there is such a Clawse or Covenant contayned in the said graunte as in the bill is expressed, Butt the Def^{t} Susan denieth that the same Clawse or Covenant was preiudiciallie incerted Contrarie to the true meaninge of thagream^{t}, And hoapeth that it is not materiall to her whither or noe the same was not in the power of the Compl^{tes} and the rest to performe the same wthout the Consent of such as should comme anewe into their Companie, And allso denieth that the Compl^{tes} and the said Companie were to paie sixtie poundes per annum for little or nothing. And these Def^{tes} doe saie, that their onelie securitie for the True paym^{t} of the said three shillinges, eight pence per diem is the said Clawse aforesaid, There beeing a prouisoe Contayned in the said Indenture of Covenauntes that the heires, executours or administrators of the said partyes in the said Indenture mencioned, or anie of them, should not bee charged, sued, molested or troubled by force of anie Clawse or thinge therein Contained, or vppon anie of the obliga-

cions or bondes for performance of the Covenauntes therin mencioned; whereby itt appeareth that it was so meant, That if anie departed the said howse'" [*the rest of the document is cut off*].

From the Athenæum, 11th July 1885.

The remarks in inverted commas are Mr. Greenstreet's:—

iii. "It would seem that the defendants ignored the jurisdiction of the Court (upon the advice of their counsel no doubt), and hence, probably, the delay. Under date November 24th, 1625 (Chancery Orders and Decrees, B 1625, fo. 168b), we read:—"

Elis Worth, John Blaney } *Plaintiffs.*
Susan Baskervile, William Browne } *Defendants.*

The matter in question betweene y^e^ said parties comeinge this daie to be heard, the Plaintiffs attended w^th^ theire Councell, ready provided for that purpose, but the Defendants made default, albeit it appeared by an Order of the xxij^th^ of May last, nowe reade, made vpon the heareinge of Councell on both sides, that the cause was to be set downe to be heard the first Thursdaie of this Terme, w^ch^, by reason of the adjournment of the Terme, was put over vntill this day, and both parties were to attend at theire perill, w^th^out anie proces to be served for that purpose. It is therefore thought meete by this Court, and soe ordered, in respect of the Defendants neglect, that they shall pay to the Plaintiffs 5 *markes* costes for this daies attendance, and the matter is to be set downe to be heard some time in the next Terme.

iv. "Further on, under date Thursday, January 27th, 1625/6 (Chancery Orders and Decrees, B 1625, fo. 308b), we read:—"

Vppon the entringe into the hearinge of the matter this presente daie, in the presence of the Councell learned on both partes, for and touchinge the pencions issueinge out of a play howse, and the bonds entered into by the Pl[aintiffs] to the Def[endants] for performaunce thereof, against which the Pl[aintiffs] seeke to be releeued: It is thought fitt, and soe ordered by this Courte, that

the parties interested in the said Cause shall attend the Master of the Revells, whoe is desired by this Court to consider of the differences betweene the said parties, vppon the proffes made in the Cause, and to reconcile and end the same if hee soe can. But if the said Master shall not make and sett downe an end in the Cause, and certifie the same by the first daie of the next Tearme, Then the matter of the Pl[aintiffs'] Bill is from henceforth clearly and absolutely dismissed out of this Courte; but, in the meane tyme, the Injunction formerly graunted in the Cause is to stand in force.

v. "The defendants, however, seem to have been no better inclined to abide any decision made by the Master of the Revels, for, under date Wednesday, April 26th, 1626 (Chancery Orders and Decrees, B 1625, fo. 601b), is related as follows:—"

Where, by an Order of the 29th [*sic*] of January last, the matter was referred to the Master of the Revells, to end the same if hee could, and certifie the same by the first daie of this Tearme, or else the Cause to stand dismissed; But, in the meane tyme, the Injuncion formerly graunted was to stand in force; Now, vppon the openinge of the matter this presente daie by Sir John ffinch, beinge of the Pl[aintiffs'] Councell, and vppon the readinge of a Certiff[icate] made by the Master of the Rolls [*sic*], fforasmuch as it appeareth, that the said Pl[aintiffs] and theire Councell haue often attended the said Master of the Revells this last Vacacion, but by the Defendants' excuses and delayes nothinge hath beene donne; And although the said Referree did offer to take some tyme the beginninge of this Tearme to heare the Cause and to laboure an end therein, the Defendants would not submit thereynto; Soe, as this Courte thinckes nt fitt the Defend[ants] should take advauntadge by their owne excuse and delay, It is therefore ordered, notwithstandinge anythinge formerly saide by Mr Serjant Binge, beinge of the Pl[aintiffs'] Councell, that the said reference shall contynue, and the said parties are to attend the said Referree this Tearme for this end; and Certiff[icate] thereof to bee made wth as much convenyent speed as hee may; and, in the meane tyme, the said Injuncion is to stand in force.

"The foregoing, I think, affords sufficient evidence that the defendants strongly objected to the case being referred for settlement to the Master of the Revels; and we may infer that Mr. Serjeant Bing had entered a vigorous protest on behalf of his clients."

From the Athenæum, 29th August 1885.

vi. "The fact that Mrs. Baskervile objected (by her counsel) to either the Master of the Rolls or the Master of the Revels interfering with the prosecution of her suit at the Common Law against the Drury Lane company of players is, I estimate, fully borne out by the certificate of the last-named official, referred to in the order of the Court of Chancery dated April 26th, 1626, already printed, which certificate I have recently discovered among the Chancery Masters' Reports for Hilary Term, 1625 (vol. 52). The document runs as under (the portion printed in italics being the autograph of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels), and is addressed: 'To the right Honorable the M^r^ of the Rolls, one of his Ma^ties^ Privy Counsell, these.'"

Right Honorable,—According to an order made by your honour the 27^th^ day of Janua: last, whereby a Cause depending in Chauncery betweene Worth, playnetiffe, and Baskervile, defendant, was referred vnto mee, I haue vpon the continuall solicitacion of the playntiffe appointed divers daies this vacacion for hearing of the Cause, all w^ch^ the playntiffe very diligently attended w^th^ his Counsell, who were also ready for him; but the defendant, sometime pretending her Counsell was not in towne, or sometime that she could not gett them, or by some other excuse, hath still put of the hearing of the Cause: At last seeing the Terme drawe on, and how peremptory it was to y^e^ playnetiffe to haue mee make some end or Certificate in the Cause before the Terme, At y^e^ playnetiffs importunitie I appointed Satturday last, at w^ch^ time, though in reguard of much weakenes by reason of sicknes I was vnfitt to be troubled, yet rather then the poore man should be preiudiced I was willinge to haue heard the Cause, for w^ch^ purpose the playne-

tiffe and his Counsell were ready, but the defendant as formerly (though shee had notice the Thursday before) excused her selfe, alledging shee had no Counsell ready, but depended on Sarjeant Binge who was not then come to towne; Herevpon I told her, that I would take some other time the beginninge of this terme assoone as my strength should serue, not doubting but I should make some good end of the Cause; and at y^e^ playnetiffs request moued her to forbeare to seeke a dismission for lack of my Certificate, her selfe only having bin in fault; but shee refused the same, and thereby gaue mee iust cause to beleiue that her former delayes haue bin of purpose to take aduantage thereof to the playnetiffs preiudice; All w^ch^ I thought fitt to certefie to your honour, w^th^ all assuring you that assoone as my strength shall serue mee I will this Terme heare the Cause and end it, or make Certificate to this hono^ble^ Court.

this 25 Aprill,
1626.
Whitehall.

Your honors humble
seruant,
H. Herbert.

[Underwritten by the Master of the Revels:] *Hauinge made use of my seruants penn I hope your honor will attribute itt rather to my weaknes then to any ill maners.*"

From the Athenæum, 11th July 1885.

"vii. The matter now rapidly drew to a conclusion, for no more than the Court of Chancery would the Master of the Revels venture to come to a decision upon the merits of the case; and, although a final question of costs was deferred until a fortnight later, the virtual termination of the proceedings is recorded in the following entry in the books of the Court, dated Friday, June 9th, 1626 (Chancery Orders and Decrees, B 1625, fo. 1066):—"

Whereas, by an Order of the xxvj^th^ [*sic*] of January laste, made vppon the entringe into the hearinge of the Cause, It was ordered that the parties interested in the Cause should attend the Master of the Revells, whoe was desired to consider of the differences, vppon the prooffes made in the Cause, and to reconcile and

end the same if hee could; but if the said Master should not sett downe an end in the Cause, and certifie the same by the first daie of the last Tearme, Then the matter of the Pl[aintiffs'] Bill was from thenceforth cleerely and absolutely dismissed out of this Courte; and, in the meane tyme, the Injuncion formerlie granted was to stand in force. Since w^{ch} tyme, by a latter Order, further tyme was giuen to the said Master of the Revells, to consider of and end the said differences, vntill the tenth of Maie last; or, in defaulte thereof, the matter to stand dismissed. Now, vppon openinge of the matter this presente daie vnto this Courte by M^{r} Serjaunt Binge, of Councell wth the Def[endants], and vpon the shewinge forth of an Aff[idavit] made by one ffrauncis Smith, gen., on the Def[endants'] behalfe, fforasmuch as it appeareth by the said Aff[idavit], that the said Master of the Revells hath not done anythinge in the Cause, nor appointed any tyme for the hearinge thereof, and now, by reason of his sicknes, desireth the Court to take order therin, and that hee maie bee troubled noe further therwith. It is therefore ordered, that the matter of the Pl[aintiffs'] Bill bee from henceforth cleerely and absolutely dismist out of this Courte, accordinge to the former Orders, and the Injuncion formerlie granted is dissolued.

viii. "So, in the end, to all intents and purposes, Mrs. Baskerville and her son obtained a complete confirmation of the legality of their claims upon the Drury Lane company, although those demands had been characterised in the plaintiffs' bill of complaint as an instance of gross usury. But the defendants, we learn, had to bear their own expense in defending the case, for the final order of the Court, dated Friday, June 23rd, 1626 (Chancery Orders and Decrees, B 1625, fo. 953b), is as follows:—"

The matter in question betweene the said parties comeinge this daie to bee heard in the presence of the Councell learned on both parties, this Court, beinge assisted by M^{r} Justice Dodderidge and M^{r} Justice Hutton, founde that the substaunce of the Pl[aintiffs'] Bill is to be releeued vppon a poll agreem^{t} ag^{t} a deed in writeinge vnder hand and seale, and that the same agreem^{t} is made betweene players, w^{ch} this Court conceaued to bee vnfitt to bee releeued or

Countenaunced in a Courte of equitie; and also findeinge that the matter hath beene seuerall tymes heretofore dismissed, doth therefore order that the matter of the Pl[aintiffs'] Bill be cleerely and absolutely dismissed out of this Court, but w^th^out any costs.

The Greenstreet papers end here.

From these documents and those mentioned on p. 270 we obtain the following lists of players:—

	Q. Anne's, 1617, June 3.	Revels Cy. 1619, May 13.	Revels Cy. 1622, July 8.
Robert Lee	did not sign	1	1
Richard Perkins	2	2	2
Christopher Beeston	1	3	L. Eliz.
Robert Pallant	did not sign	4	[? dead]
Thomas Heywood	3	5	L. Eliz.
James Holt	did not sign	6	...
Thomas Swinerton	did not sign	7	...
Martin Slater	...	8	...
Ellis Worth	4	9	3
John Comber	5	10	6
Francis Walpole	6	...	...
Robert Reynolds	7	...	...
Thomas Casse	9	11	4
John Bisney	8	12	5
William Robins[on]	10	13	7
John Edmonds	...	14	...
Thomas Drew	11	15	...
Emanuel Read	12	...	...
Gregory Sanderson	...	16	...
John Garrett	...	17	...

Worth was acting with the Prince's (Charles 2) in 1639. Cumber died 1623. Lee and Basse are the Pickel-herring and the Jungfrau of Cohn, p. xcvii., of whom more hereafter.

5. The Palsgrave's men, on 31st October 1618, took a lease of the Fortune (at which they acted) from E. Allen for thirty-one years, at a rent of £200 and two rundlets of wine (value, 10s. each), at Christmas. On Sunday, 9th December 1621, the Fortune was burned down, and all the "apparel and playbooks were lost" (Chamberlain's letter). It was rebuilt as a round brick building, the former one having been square, and of wood. On 20th May 1622 the lease of the new edifice was drawn up; it

was sealed on 6th September. This lease, for fifty-one years, divided the theatre into twenty-four shares of £5, 6s. 11d. each (total, £128, 6s.) for rent, and each sharer paid £41, 13s. 4d. (total, £1000) towards the rebuilding. Charles Massey was the lessee (see the extant counterpart). A list of the Fortune players, derived from the Herbert MSS., was printed by Malone (see "Variorum," iii. 60).

	1618, Oct. 31.	Herbert, 1622.	1622, Sep. 6.
Edward Juby . . .	1	...	Frances Juby, widow.
William Bird . . .	2	...	...
Frank Grace . . .	3	1	...
Richard Gunnell . .	4	...	*
Charles Massey . . .	5	2	*
William Stratford . .	6	...	...
William Cartwright . .	7	...	...
Richard Price . . .	8	3	*
William Parr . . .	9	...	...
Richard Fowler . . .	10	4	...
[Andrew] Kane . . .	...	5	...
Curtes Greville . . .	...	6	...
		and 3 others	and 9 others.

The Herbert list, which mentions no theatre in this instance, although in every other instance (Bull, Curtain, and Phœnix) it does so, must have been made out while the Fortune was unrebuilt. It is the first of the lists which shows that Cane and Greville went from the Palsgrave's to the Lady Elizabeth's, and not *vice versâ*. They were probably ruined by the fire. Their being members of both companies at once is an absurd imagination. The date of the death of Edward Juby, the principal manager, in 1618, is fixed by these lists as early in 1622. There is no trace that I know of that the Palsgrave's men acted at all while the Fortune lay ruinated. Cane returned to them when it was reopened, and Greville went to the King's before 1628.

SECTION D.

THEATRES (1614–1625).

1. The Globe and Blackfriars were occupied as usual by the King's men.

2. At the Curtain in 1613 citizens acted (for a single night or so), as already noticed (see p. 251); but it was mainly occupied by the servants of Prince Charles till it was closed in 1623. The last notice of it is the acting of the Dutch Painter there en 10th June.

3. Queen Anne's men acted at the Bull till her death 2nd March 1619; the Revels Company from 8th July 1622 till June 1623; the Prince's from August 1623 onwards. In 1614 (11 Jac.) John Woodward complained that Aaron Holland had not duly given him the 1 : 18th of every penny paid for admission (Audit Office MS., Collier, i. 374).

4. The Palsgrave's men acted at the Fortune till it was burned, 9th December 1621, and after it was rebuilt from 1622, September 6, onwards.

5. The Hope was closed for plays 1616, and became a bear-baiting place, as it had been, under its old name of Paris Garden. Rossiter's Blackfriars Theatre was only used for a short time in 1610. Lady Elizabeth's men then went to their new theatre, the Cockpit, which was wrecked 4th March 1617 by the prentices, but soon restored. They continued to play there till the end of the reign. There is a curious difficulty about the playing of the Witch of Edmonton at the Cockpit in 1622, but as this rests only on the authority of a 1658 title-page much value must not be attached to it. The words are "acted by the Prince's servants at the Cockpit often," &c., but the Prince's servants (if ever) certainly did not "often" act there. I conjecture that the original MS. had "the Princes[s Elizabeth's] servants," and that the word in brackets was, as often happens in such MSS., cut off accidentally before printing.

Globe and Blkfrs.	Curtain.	Bull.	Fortune.	Hope.
1614–1642, King's.	1614–1623, Aug., Prince's.	1614–1619. Mar. 3, Queen Anne's.	1614–1621, Dec. 9, Palsgrave's.	1614–1616, L. Eliz. and Prince's.
		1622, July 8–1623, June, Revels.	1622, Sep. 6–1625, Palsgrave's.	Rossiter's Blkfrs.
		1623, Aug.–1625, Prince's.		1616, L. Eliz. and Prince's.
				Cockpit.
				1617–1625, L. Elizabeth's.

In 1620 a license to build an amphitheatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields was granted by the King to Cotton, Williams, and Dixon (not players). The Privy Seal was stayed and the license revoked 29th September (Collier, i. 408).

Licenses for Acting Plays (1622–1624).

We have already met with evidence in "Henslow's Diary" of plays being licensed both for acting and publication by the Master of the Revels. These two kinds of license are quite distinct in nature, and their records should be carefully kept apart. They were, however, confused by Chalmers, who was followed by later writers. The publishing licenses will be found in my "Life of Shakespeare," pp. 328–364. I here give the acting licenses from the Herbert MS. That office book contained two entirely different sets of entries, one of performances at Court, the other concerning acting at the theatres. These are properly distinguished by Malone; but he has, by extracting from the lists those entries relating to Fletcher ("Variorum," iii. 226), Massinger (p. 230), Shirley (p. 231), and Davenant (p. 284), greatly injured their utility to the dramatic student. By incorporating these with Chalmers' supplementary extracts ("Supplemental Apology," p. 213) I have endeavoured to restore the Herbert MS. to a shape practically available for further investigation, adding in brackets such information as may render it more complete. These additions are mostly derived from my own researches.

Herbert MS. [Ashley's entries].

1622. May 14.—A new play called the Prophetess [by Fletcher and Massinger] was allowed to be acted by the King's players [at the Globe or Blackfriars].

June 22.—A new play called the Sea Voyage [by Fletcher and ? Massinger] was allowed to be acted by the King's players at the Globe.

Oct. 24.—A new play called the Spanish Curate [by Fletcher and Massinger] was allowed to be acted by the King's players at Blackfriars.

1623. May 10.—A new play called the Black Lady was allowed to be acted by the L. Elizabeth's servants [at the Cockpit].

[May 10].—A new play called the Witch Traveller was allowed to be acted by the players of the Revels [at the Bull. This is their last license].

June 3.—A new play called the Valiant Scholar was allowed to be acted by the L. Elizabeth's servants [at the Cockpit].

June 10.—A new play called the Dutch Painter and the French Branke was allowed to be acted by the Prince's servants at the Curtain.

[*Herbert's Entries:* note the difference in form.]

1623. July 27.—For the Palsgrave's players [at the Fortune]. A French tragedy of Richard 3 or the English Profit; with the reformation [alteration] written by Samuel Rowley.

July 30.—For the Prince's players [at the Curtain]. A French tragedy of the Bellman of Paris, written by Thomas Dekker and John Day for the company of the Red Bull [the Revels, which was then dissolved].

Aug.—For the [? Prince's] company of the Curtain. A tragedy of the Plantation of Virginia: the profaneness to be left out, otherwise not tolerated. [The last entry for the Curtain, which was finally closed before the next entry.]

Aug. 19.—For the Prince's servants of the Red Bull. An

old play called the Peaceable King or the Lord Mendall; which was formerly allowed by Sir George Bucke and likewise by me.

Aug. 19.—For the King's players. An old play called Winter's Tale [by Shakespeare], formerly allowed by Sir G. Bucke, and likewise by me on Mr. Hemmings his word that there was nothing profane added or reformed, though the allowed book was missing; and therefore I returned it without a fee.

[Herbert is now formally appointed deputy to Ashley.]

Aug. 21.—For the L. Elizabeth's servants of the Cockpit. An old play called Match me in London [by Dekker], which had been formerly allowed by Sir G. Bucke.

Aug. 27.—For the King's players. A new comedy called the Maid of the Mill, written by Fletcher and [W.] Rowley.

Sep. 12.—For the L. Elizabeth's players [at the Cockpit]. A new comedy called the Cra[fty] Merchant, or Come to my Country House, written by William Bonen.

Sep. 18.—For a company of Strangers [at the Red Bull]. A new comedy called Come see a wonder [Dekker's Wonder of a Kingdom reformed], written by John Day. It was acted at the Red Bull and licensed without my hand to it because they were none of the 4 companies. [This last sentence was transposed by Collier and Halliwell to the preceding entry.]

Oct. 2.—For the Prince's Company [at the Red Bull]. A new comedy called A Fault in Friendship, written by young Johnson and Broome.

Oct. 17.—For the King's company, an old play called More Dissemblers besides Women [by Middleton], allowed by Sir G. Bucke [1621–2], and being free from alterations was allowed by me for a new play called The Devil of Dowgate [and his Son], or Usury put to use [Wit at several weapons], written by Fletcher [and ? Middleton and Rowley].

Oct. 29.—For the Palsgrave's Players [at the Fortune]. A new comedy called Hard Shift for Husbands or Bilbo's the best Blade, written by Sam Rowley.

Nov. 19.—For the Palsgrave's Players [at the Fortune]. A

new tragedy called Two Kings in a Cottage, written by [W.] Bonen.

Nov. 28.—For a strange company at the Red Bull. The Fair foul one or the baiting of the Jealous Knight, written by [William] Smith.

[*N.B.*—A new scribe at this point. The L. Elizabeth henceforth called Queen of Bohemia; she acquired that title 1619, Nov. 4.]

Dec. 3.—For the Queen of Bohemia's Company [at the Cockpit]. The Noble Bondman, written by Philip Messenger, gent.

Dec. 4.—For the Palsgrave's players [at the Fortune]. The Hungarian Lion, written by Gunnell.

Dec. 5.—For the King's company. The Wandring Lovers [or the Painter], written by Mr. Fletcher [altered afterwards by Massinger under the name of Cleander or the Lovers' Progress.].

1624. Jan. 2.—For the Palsgrave's Company [at the Fortune]. The History of the Duchess of Suffolk, which being full of dangerous matter was much reformed by me. I had £2 for my pains. Written by Mr Drew.

Jan. 6.—For the Prince's Company [at the Red Bull]. The four sons of Aymon, being an old play, and not of a legible hand.

Jan. 26.—For the Palsgrave's Company [at the Fortune]. A tragedy called the Whore in grain ["revampt" for the Bull, *i.e.*, Prince Charles 2 company, 1639].

Mar. 3.—For the [Queen of Bohemia's or] Cockpit Company. The Sun's Darling in the nature of a Mask, by Dekker and [reformed by] Forde.

April 6.—For the [Palsgrave's Company at the] Fortune. A new comedy called Match or no Match. Written by Mr. [Samuel] Rowley.

April 10.—For the King's company. The History of Henry 1. Written by [Davenport] Damport.

Apr. 17.—For the [Palsgrave's Company at the] Fortune The Way to content all Women, or How a Man may please his Wife. Written by Mr Gunnell.

April 17.—For the [Queen of Bohemia's company at the] Cockpit, The Renegado or The Gentleman of Venice: written by Messinger.

May 3.—For the Prince's company [at the Red Bull]. A new play called the Madcap: written by Barnes.

[May 3. For the same].—An old play called Jugurth[a] King of Numidia, formerly allowed by Sir G. Bucke.

May 15.—The tragedy of Nero [probably not acted] was allowed to be printed. [Not entered in S. R.]

May 21.—For the Palsgrave's company [at the Fortune]. A play called Humour in the end.

May 27.—For the King's company. A comedy called A wife for a month: written by Fletcher [but Tooley, who died 1623, June 3–5, acted in it, according to the Beaumont and Fletcher second Folio. This is the last entry for the King's men until 1625, February 8; they were in trouble about Middleton's Game at Chess in 1624, August, and again in December about The Spanish Viceroy, which they acted without license. It was reformed and licensed in 1628, on May 6, as The Honor of Women. They seem to have been very irregular at this time].

[May 27].—For the Prince's company [at the Red Bull]. A play called The Parracide [or Revenge for Honor: absurdly attributed to Chapman in 1654, but certainly not by him].

June 11.—[For the same]. A new play called The Fairy Knight: written by Ford and Dekker.

Sep. 3.—For the [Queen of Bohemia's or] Cockpit Company. A new play called The Captive[s] or The Lost recovered: written by Hayward [Heywood: published from the MS. by Mr. A. H. Bullen].

[Sep. 3.—For the same]. A new tragedy called A late murther of the Son upon the mother. Written by Forde and Webster.

Sep. 15.—For the Palsgrave's company [at the Fortune]. A tragedy called The Fair Star of Antwerp.

Oct. 14.—For the [Queen of Bohemia's or] Cockpit Company. A new play called the City. Nightcap: written by Davenport.

Oct. 15.—For the Palsgrave's company [at the Fortune]. A new play called The Angel King.

Oct. 22.—For the Palsgrave's Company [at the Fortune]. A new play called The Bristow Merchant: written by Ford and Dekker.

Nov. 3.—For the [Queen of Bohemia's or] Cockpit Company. A new play called The Parliament of Love: written by Massinger [and attributed absurdly to Rowley in 1660].

[Dec. 29]—For the Palsgrave's company [at the Fortune] A new play called The Masque. The Masque book was allowed o for the Press, and was brought me by Mr. Jon[son] the 29th Dec.

1625. Feb. 8.—For the King's company. An old play called The Honest Man's Fortune [by Fletcher, Massinger, Field, and Daborne], the original being lost [the King's men probably never had it; it was produced in 1613 by the L. Elizabeth's men] was reallowed by me at Mr. Taylor's entreaty [Taylor had probably kept the L. Elizabeth's stage copy, and now sold it to the King's men] and on condition to give me a book [The Arcadia (Malone)].

Feb. 10.—For the [Queen of Bohemia's or] Cockpit company. Love Tricks with complements, written by Shirley.

1626. Mar. 27.—King Charles i. succeeded to the throne.

SECTION E.

AUTHORS (1614–1625).

I.—*King's Men, at Globe and Blackfriars.*

Jonson	The I evil is an ass.
Fletcher	Valentinian; Bonduca; Loyal Subject; Mad Lover; Humorous Lieutenant; Women pleased; Woman's Plot [altered by Massinger into a Very Woman]; Pilgrim; Wildgoose Chase; Island Princess; Wandering Lovers [altered by Massinger into the Lovers' Progress]; A Wife for a month; Rule a wife and have a wife; Chances; Noble Gentleman [but finished by a second hand].

Fletcher [& Mass.] .	Beggars' Bush ; Barnaveldt ; False One ; Little French Lawyer ; Custom of the Country ; Double Marriage ; Prophetess ; Sea Voyage (?) ; Spanish Curate ; Henry 8 [founded on Shakespeare] ; Two Noble Kinsmen ; Elder Brother ; [Spanish Viceroy].
Massinger . . .	Duke of Milan ; Unnatural Combat ; Laws of Candy (?).
Massinger and Field	Fatal Dowry.
Fletch. [Mass., Field]	Thierry and Theodoret ; Queen of Corinth ; Knight of Malta ; Jeweller of Amsterdam.
Fletch. [Mass., Jons.]	Rollo Duke of Normandy or The Bloody Brother.
Fletcher & Rowley	Maid in the Mill.
Fletch. [Midd., Row.]	Wit at several weapons [altered from The Devil of Dowgate or Usury put to use].
Middleton . . .	Widow [Query, with Jonson and Fletcher] ; Witch ; More Dissemblers besides Women ; Women beware Women ; Anything for a quiet life ; A game at Chess ; Mayor of Quinborough [from Hengist, an Admiral's play].
Anon.	The Buck is a thief.

II.—2 *Lady Elizabeth's, at the Cockpit* (1616–1625).

Middleton & Rowley	The Changeling ; Spanish Gipsy.
Rowley	All's lost by Lust.
Bonen	Cra[fty] Merchant or Come to my Country House.
Anon.	Black Lady ; Valiant Scholar.
Massinger . . .	Noble Bondman ; Renegado or Gentleman of Venice ; Parliament of Love.
Dekker	Match me in London [from Queen Anne's].
Ford	Sun's Darling [reformed from Phaeton by] Dekker ; A late murder of the Son upon the mother [reformed from] Webster.
Heywood	The Captives or the Lost Recovered.
Davenport . . .	City Nightcap.
H. Shirley . . .	Martyred Soldier.
J. Shirley . . .	Love Tricks with Complements or School of Compliment.

III.—2 *Prince's* [*Charles'*], *at the Curtain* (1616–1623).

Anon.	The Dutch Painter and the French Brank ; Plantation of Virginia.
Middleton & Rowley	Fair Quarrel ; World tost at Tennis ; Inner Temple Mask [not publicly acted].
Ford, Dekker, & Row.	Witch of Edmonton [afterwards at the Cockpit ?].

At the Bull (1623–1625).

Anon.	The peaceable King or the Lord Mendall ; Four Sons of Aymon [from the Admiral's] ; Jugurth : 11 old plays.

Broome & yg. Jonson	A Fault in Friendship.
Barnes	Madcap.
Anon.	Parracide or Revenge for Honor [absurdly attributed to Chapman].
Ford and Dekker .	Fairy Knight.
Sampson	Widow's Prize.

At the Bull, by a Strange Company (1623).

Day.	Come see a wonder [altered from Dekker's Wonder of a Kingdom].
Will. Smith . . .	Fair foul one or Baiting of a Jealous Knight.

IV.—2 *Queen's* [*Anne's*], *at the Bull* (1613–1618).

Anon.	Swetnam the Woman Hater arraigned by Women.

Revels Company, at the Bull (1619–1623).

Massinger . . .	Virgin Martyr; Antonio and Vallea; Philenzo and Hippolita [all altered from Dekker].
May	The Heir.
Sampson & Markham	Herod and Antipater.
Anon.	Witch Traveller [Welsh T., in "Halliwell's Dict."]; Two Noble Ladies.
J. C.	Two Merry Milkmaids.

V.—*Palsgrave's, at the Fortune* (1613–1625).

No plays known 1613–1621. They were burnt with the theatre in 1621.

1623–1624.

S. Rowley . . .	Richard 3 or The English Proht; Hard Shift for Husbands or Bilbo's the best Blade.
Bonen	Two Kings in a Cottage.
Gunnell	Hungarian Lion.
Drew	Duchess of Suffolk.
Anon.	Whore in grain; Humor in the end; Fair Star of Antwerp; Angel King [*i.e.*, Robert of Sicily].
Ford	Bristol Merchant [altered from] Dekker.

SECTION F.

GENERAL STAGE HISTORY (1614–1625).

1614.—Very early in the year. Taylor (the water poet) complained that the only theatre at the Bankside still open was the Globe, the other players having crossed the Thames to perform in Middlesex. The Hope was not then yet open, and the Lady Elizabeth's had removed from the Swan to Whitefriars. (Taylor's Waterman's suit concerning players wrongly dated 1612 by Collier.) The Globe had been rebuilt. It appears from commendatory verses prefixed to his works that Taylor was a friend of Jonson ("The Sculler," 1612); of Rowley ("Great Britain all in Black," 1612); of Rowley and Daborne ("Nipping and Snipping of Abuses," S. R., 1613, December 7); of Dekker (Taylor's "Urania," 1615). He was then evidently acting in Henslow's interest and trying to get up a "boom" before the building of the Hope on the Bankside in 1614. This allusion is specially valuable first as confirming my conjecture that Henslow's company acted at Whitefriars, and also as showing the early date of the reopening of the Globe.

1615. Jan. 5.—From a letter from Chamberlain to Carlton (Nichols, iii. 26) we learn there were plays at Court every night at this season, but poor stuff; of five new plays not one pleased, so they furbished up the old ones.

1615. July 17.—John Daniel obtained a patent for a company of Youths of her Majesty's Royal Chamber of Bristol to perform there and elsewhere. This patent was originally promised to Samuel Daniel on the Queen's mediation with the King on his behalf, as appears from Buck's letter of 10th July, in which he consents to it "as being without prejudice to the rights of his office." John (Samuel's brother) was not a player, but one of Prince Charles' musicians. In April 1618 "letters of assistance" (in consequence of the authority of the patent having been resisted) were granted to John Daniel authorising him to assign by letter to these players (Martin Slaughter, John Edmonds,

Nathaniel Clay, and others) power to perform anywhere in his Majesty's dominions. This attempt at establishing a permanent provincial stage evidently failed.

1616. Mar. 29.—A warrant was issued by the Privy Council to summons on Friday [5th April] next at 8 A.M. for playing in this prohibited time in Lent notwithstanding the Lord Chamberlain's commandment signified to them by the Master of the Revels:

> John Hemmings, Richard Burbadge [of the King's men],
> Christopher Beeston, Robert Lee [of the Queen's],
> William Rowley, John Newton [of the Prince's],
> Thomas Downton, Humphry Jeffs [of the Palsgrave's],
> " with others " [viz., John Townsend and Joseph Moore, who were then just establishing the newly separated Lady Elizabeth's company].

I pass over Collier's interesting fictions to note the extreme importance of all documents that give particulars of companies in general. Had this warrant been issued before the separation of the Prince's and the Lady Elizabeth's, Nathaniel Field and Joseph Taylor would have been summoned on their behalf, so that this document not only tells us what companies were acting in London in March 1616, but fixes the date of Fields' going to the King's men as between January [9], when Henslow died, and March 29 [probably at Quarter-day, 25th March].

1617. Mar. 14.—James I went to Scotland; he took with him, not the King's, but the L. Elizabeth's men, who were paid for their performances on 11th July. From the payment entry I obtained the names of Moore and Townsend supplied in the preceding paragraph. He returned 15th September. He also took with him the Children of the Chapel, to the great offence of the Scots, but only as singing-boys, not as players.

1617. June 22.—The Privy Council wrote to Sir G. Buck, Master of the Revels, to have special care that an enterlude concerning the late Marquis d'Ancre (killed in 1617, April) should not be performed. They did not know what company intended to perform it. But the play was no doubt Thierry and Theo-

doret, by Fletcher and Massinger. It was performed, however, after considerable alterations made by a third hand [Field]. The doubt as to the company would naturally arise at a time when there were so many shiftings of authors from one company to another as there were in 1616–17.

1618. Feb. 11.—The Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor and to the Lieutenants of the County to take such order on Shrove Tuesday (Feb. 17) as they did on May-day last to suppress riot, for that the apprentices, in spite of their imprisonment for their proceedings on Shrove Tuesday 1617 (for which see under Theatres, Cockpit) had cast seditious libels into playhouses to summon others to meet at the Fortune and then go to the Red Bull and Cockpit and pull them down [thus reducing the London theatres to the three built before 1600, viz., the Globe, the Curtain, and Blackfriars].

1618. May 24.—The King's Declaration concerning lawful sports on Sundays and holidays was issued. It prohibited play-acting on Sundays.

1618. June.—The Mayor of Exeter wrote to his Majesty's secretary complaining of John Daniel's players (already noticed under 1615). They had exhibited their patent of July 1615 [and surely the letters of assistance of April 1618], but the Mayor had refused permission to a company of men, of 30, 40, 50 years old, with only 5 youths among them, to act on the authority of a patent "for children." He gave them 4 angels, and they seemed content, but afterwards threatened to write to the Council. The Mayor thought it best to write first.

1619. Mar. 2.—Queen Anne died.

1622. May 22.—Sir John Ashley was appointed Master of the Revels. The patent is printed in Collier, i. 402. His predecessor, Sir George Buck, who had become incapacitated through illness and infirmity, occurs as licenser of plays for the last time in S. R. 1622, February 22; Ashley for the first time 1623, January 20. He had obtained a grant of the reversion in 1612. On 1623, September 3, his name occurs again in S. R., the last and only other time, in his licensing capacity. He had, in fact,

appointed Sir Henry Herbert as his deputy in August, and as early as 27th July Herbert seems to have been acting for him. On that date a sudden change takes place in the entries in the Herbert MS., published by Chalmers ("Supplemental Apology," p. 213). Instead of "A new play of —— was allowed to be acted by ——," we always find from that day onward, "For the —— players a play of —— written by ——." There can be no doubt that the earlier entries are Ashley's and the later Herbert's. The S. R. entries prove that Ashley did act as Master, though only for a short time. Herbert continued his entries in the same office book. There is no trace of Buck's books; but the "allowances" of plays by him, referred to by Herbert, were, as we know, endorsed on the allowed copies.

1623. Sep. 12.—It appears from an entry of this date in the Herbert MS. that there were only four companies then acting regularly in London. These were the King's, at the Globe and Blackfriars; the Lady Elizabeth's, at the Cockpit; the Palsgrave's, at the Fortune; and the Prince's, at the Bull. The Prince's had moved to the Bull from the Curtain, which was finally closed in August, after the Revels company had left it and broken. The Bull does not seem to have been popular, and on several occasions we find the Prince's men letting it out to strange companies, an innovation which may have been connived at rather than authorised. The Revels company were mostly absorbed into the Lady Elizabeth's.

CHAPTER VI.

SECTION A.

INTRODUCTION (1625–1636).

AFTER the Silver Age comes the Brazen; a time in which the afterglow still remaining testifies to the splendour of the foregone sunlight, but which has no original radiance of its own. With scarcely any exceptions, the dramatists of the reign of Charles had learned their craft and begun to exercise it during the preceding reign, and the only notable exceptions to this statement, Randolph and Cartwright, were University men, and "of the tribe of Ben," avowed members of the school of Jonson. The chief writers of this time, Brome, Shirley, Ford, and, above all, Massinger, did not belong solely to it, but were connecting-links between it and its predecessor; so that it is only as a continuation of the Jacobean stage that the Carolan has any real interest for the student. Jonson after his paralytic stroke of 1627–8 contributed nothing of high permanent value, and Davenant, Glapthorne, Marmion, with the rest of the playwrights, who are altogether Carolan, only serve to mark the extent of dramatic decadence.

The Royal Family regnant retained the patronage of all the recognised companies; the King adopted the players of his predecessor, with whom all the principal members of the company which had served him while he was Prince of Wales were at once incorporated; the new Queen took over the Queen of Bohemia's company; the young Prince, born in 1630, was made, as soon as he could speak or run (in 1632), the ostensible patron of the

men who had been the Palsgrave's; and when the new theatre in Salisbury Court was opened in 1629, Charles, as James had done before him, took them as a second company into his service as the company of the King's Revels. But there was no Queen's Revels company. The Queen liked to visit the performances of her actors. She attended them openly at the Phœnix, and those of the King's men at Blackfriars and of the Revels at Salisbury Court. But she could not carry this innovation further than appearing at the "private houses;" the Bull and the Fortune were too vulgar to be dignified with her presence. And so the poor fifth company, without Court patron, was also without name, and is only mentioned as that of the Bull or of the Fortune when acting at either of these theatres. It was not one of "the four companies." I have found their anonymous condition the source of much confusion, and I think this justifies my baptizing them as "The Outsiders." A comparison of my account of this time with Collier's will show the amount of obscurity thus removed. The most important point, however, is the plain fact that no nobleman ventured to take these men into his service, and that all such patronage was, under the Stuarts, reserved to the Royal Family.

But the Royal interference did not stop here. In Herbert's Office Book it will be found that the King at times took on himself the duties of the Master of the Revels; reformed plays and marked passages to be expunged; proposed plots for his favourite dramatists; investigated offences of the players; and decided the subtle casuistical problem of the boundary-line between oaths and asseverations. It is to this Royal intellect that we owe the dictum that "'s light" is no oath, while "God's light" is one; that "death" is an asseveration and therefore pardonable, but "'s death" is not. And while the King was neglecting his own duty and entering on the sophistical way which led to loss of crown and life, his consort was by her excessive love of the theatre alienating a vast section of their subjects. Elizabeth was fond of displaying her dancing, and the good Queen Anne had performed in Court Masks; but Henrietta was the first queen who ventured to take part in a play

Her Pastoral, and the excessive punishment of Prynne for his presumed allusions to it, had no small effect on political contemporary feeling. Add to this her open patronage of the French Company with their women actors, for whom the restrictions of playing during Lent, which had been so strictly enforced against English players, were at once cast aside, and the antipathy to the Court shown in many late plays (after 1632) will easily be understood. This would not decrease on the King's patronage of a company of Spaniards whose very name was hateful to the multitude. In small things as in great this obstinate *dementia* of Charles in opposing the popular feeling is alike remarkable.

I may note in connexion with this that the dramatists most popular at Court are said to have been Roman Catholics. To enter further on general considerations would merely lead to my repeating what has been said, and said well already, by my friend Professor A. W. Ward, to whose History I refer the student. I only touch on such points as affect the stage; and the stage of this time was merely a reflexion of the preceding, a second part of it, as it were, as uninteresting as second parts usually are. What little there was of new had small vitality: neither Pastorals, nor set scenes, nor women actors, nor Masks on the stage, took any real hold on the general public; and whatever of genuine good work exists in the better plays of Ford and Shirley looks colourless when set beside the masterpieces of Beaumont, Webster, Fletcher, and Jonson, to say nothing of one greater than all of them. But weak as the later men are in characterisation, little as their intricate plots will compensate for the vigorous variety of their elders, there is in the true Carolans one point in which even Ford, Shirley, and their congeners are distinguishable at a glance. Each of the Elizabethan and Jacobean men has a metrical method of his own; Ford and Shirley have metrical methods not of their own, being for the most part only those of Jonson or Middleton weakened by toning down to a uniformity of manner; but Davenant, Suckling, and a whole host of minor Carolans (who, to our comfort, contributed only one or two plays each), have no metre properly so called of any kind; they wrote

in a system which even Wagner only ventured to hope for, not to act on, of music without bars; they had no rule but their individual whim; and the result was a hybrid of irregular iambic, certainly not verse, and which it would be an insult to the ghosts of Milton, Landor, and De Quincey to call prose. With this degeneracy of form came, as always, decrepitude in all their art. They are not, except for purposes of historic investigation, worthy even of a perusal.

SECTION B.

PERFORMANCES AT COURT (1625–1636).

a. Plays.

1624. May 13–1626. May 30.—The King's men presented in this interval 20 plays, for which [Query, with interest at 10 per cent.] Lowin was paid £250 on 1635, May 24.

1631.—The Revels company [of Salisbury Court] presented 2 plays, for which W. Blagrave was paid £30 each, 1635, Jan. 24, 30 (Collier, ii. 5).

1632. Mar.—Randolph's Jealous Lovers was presented before their Majesties by the students of Trinity College, Cambridge.

[1632–3].—Randolph's Amintas or The impossible Dowry was acted before them at Whitehall [by the Queen's men].

1633. Jan. 8, Wednesday.—The Queen's Pastoral by W. Montague was acted at Denmark House by the Queen and her ladies (Pory's letter of Jan. 3, "Court and Times of Charles I.," ii. 214).

1633. Nov. 17 [16], Saturday, the Queen's birthday.—Richard 3 [by Shakespeare] was acted by the King's players at S. James' before the King and Queen, it being the first play the Queen saw since her My.'s delivery of the Duke of York (Herbert).

1633. Nov. 19, the King's birthday.—The Young Admiral [Shirley] by the Queen's players before the King and Queen; and liked.

1633. Nov. 26, Tuesday.—The Taming of the Shrew [Lodge? and Shakespeare] by the King's players. Liked.

1633. Nov. 28, Thursday.—The Tamer Tamed, made by Fletcher, by the King's players. Very well liked.

1633. Dec. 10, Tuesday.—At Whitehall. The Loyal Subject, by Fletcher [by the King's men]. Very well liked by the King.

1633. Dec. 16, Monday.—Hymen's Holiday or Cupid's Vagaries, an old play of [Samuel] Rowley's [Query, by the Queen's men]. Liked.

1634. Jan. 1, Wednesday.—Cymbeline [Shakespeare]. Well liked by the King.

1634. Jan. 6, Monday, Twelfth Night.—At Denmark House. The Faithful Shepherdess, Fletcher's Pastoral, in the clothes the Queen had given Taylor the year before of her own Pastoral [Montague's]. The scenes were fitted and made by Inigo Jones in the great chamber.

1634. Jan. 12, Sunday.—The Guardian, by Massinger, by the King's players. Well liked.

1634. Jan. 14, Tuesday.—The Tale of the Tub [Jonson] by the Queen's players. Not liked.

1634. Jan. 16, Thursday.—The Winter's Tale [Shakespeare] by the King's players. Liked.

1634. Jan. 28, Tuesday.—The Wits [Davenant, by the King's men]. Well liked. It had a "various fate" on the stage and at Court; though the King commended the language, he disliked the plot and characters.

1634. Jan. 30, Thursday.—The Nightwalkers, made by Fletcher [and Shirley, acted by the Queen's men]. Liked as a merry play.

1634. Feb. 6, Thursday.—The Gamester, made by Shirley out of a plot of the King's given him by me, and well liked. The King said it was the best play he had seen for 7 years. [By the Queen's men].

1634. [Apr. 7], Easter Monday.—Bussy d'Ambois [Chapman] by the King's players at the Cockpit [at Whitehall].

1634. Apr. 8.—The Pastoral [Faithful Shepherdess, by Fletcher] at the Cockpit in Court by the King's players.

1634. Apr. 27.—John Lowin, Joseph Taylor, and Elliard Swanston received £220 for 22 plays in the past whole year [acted by the King's men].

1634.—For 5 plays presented in this year by the Prince's comedians, Joseph Moore, Andrew Cane, and Ellis Worth were paid 10th Dec. 1635, £100.

1636. Feb. 16.—[The King's men] presented 2 Arviragus and Philicia [Lodowick Carlell] with great approbation of King and Queen.

1636. Feb. 18, Thursday.—The Silent Woman [Jonson's Epicene] played at St. James' [by the Queen's men].

1636. Feb. 24.—Love's Aftergame [The Proxy] played at St. James' by the Salisbury Court players.

1636. Feb. 22.—The Duke's Mistress played at St. James' [by the Queen's men]. Made by Shirley.

1636. Feb. 28.—The Knight of the Burning Pestle [Beaumont and Fletcher] played by the Queen's men at St. James'.

1636. Apr. 18, 19.—The 1. 2. Arviragus and Philicia [L. Carlell] were acted at the Cockpit [Whitehall] before the King, Queen, Prince, and Prince Elector [by the King's men], being Easter Monday and Tuesday.

1636. May 12.—Theatres shut on account of plague.

1635. Oct.; 1636. Feb.—On 1637, Feb. 8, Richard Heton was paid for 2 plays at Hampton Court £20 each and 1 at St. James' £10 for the Salisbury Court players.

For other entries of payment see next chapter.

b. Masks.

1625–6.—The Queen intended to have a Mask performed at Christmas: a warrant for £300 was issued for expenses. No such Mask known.

1626–7.—Warrants for £800 were similarly issued. No Masks known.

1627–8.—Similar warrants for £150, £500, £600. Masks unknown.

1630. Jan. 6.—Jonson and I. Jones. Love's Triumph through Callipolis was presented by the King, his Lords and Gentlemen.

1630. Shrovetide.—Jonson and I. Jones. Chloridia or Rites to Chloris and her Nymphs; presented by the Queen and her Ladies. [These two were published 1630–1, and then came the quarrel between Jonson and Jones.]

1632. Jan. 8, Sunday.—Aurelian Townsend and I. Jones. Albion's Triumph was presented by the King.

1632. Shrovetide.—A. Townsend and I. Jones. Tempe Restored was presented by the Queen.

1633. Jan. 8, Wednesday.—Walter Montague. The Shepherd's Paradise, a Pastoral, was presented by the Queen at Denmark House. Pory's letters to Puckering. See Davenant, i. 283, Edition 1872.

1633. May.—Jonson. Love's Welcome to the King at Welbeck, the Earl of Newcastle's, on his Majesty's going into Scotland.

1634. Feb. 3 [not 2], Monday.—Shirley and I. Jones. The Triumph of Peace was presented by the 4 Inns of Court in the Banqueting House, Whitehall. The performance was repeated on Tuesday [Feb. 11] at Merchant Taylors' Hall by the King's command. "Their shew through the streets was glorious, and in the nature of a triumph" (Herbert).

1634. Feb. 18, Shrove Tuesday.—[Carew and I. Jones]. The King danced his Mask [Cœlum Britannicum] with 11 lords and 10 pages. "The noblest mask of my time to this day; the best poetry, best scenes, and best habits. The King and Queen were very well pleased with my service, and the Q. was pleased to tell me before the King, *Pour les habits elle n'avait jamais rien vue de si brave.*" [At the Banqueting House, Whitehall. Now for the first time rightly dated.]

1634. July 30.—Jonson. Love's Welcome to the King and Queen at Bolsover, the Earl of Newcastle's, on their Progress.

1634. Sep. 12.—The King and Queen's Entertainment at

Richmond after their Departure from Oxford in a Mask presented by Prince Charles [born 1630, May 29], who danced in it. So did Lord Buckhurst and Mr. Edward Sackville as a Captain and a Druid ("Biog. Dram.").

1634. Sep. 29.—Milton. Comus was presented at Ludlow Castle before the Earl of Bridgewater.

1634. Nov. 19, and on two other days within a week.—Heywood. Love's Mistress or The Queen's Mask was presented at Denmark House, and afterwards publicly acted by the Queen's players. It was entered S. R. 30th Sep. 1595, and Collier dates its first performance in 1636!

1635. Feb. 10.—Davenant and I. Jones. The Temple of Love was presented by the Queen and her Ladies at Whitehall on Shrove Tuesday.

1635. Dec. 21.—*La Pastorale de Florimène fut representée devant le Roi et la Reine le Prince Charles et le Prince Palatin par les filles Françaises de la Reine et firent très bien dans la grande salle de Whitehall aux dépens de la Reine* (Herbert, "Variorum," iii. 122). Allowed for press Dec. 14. I. Jones arranged the scenes.

1636. Feb. 24, Wednesday. [Herbert has 23, wrongly.]—Davenant. "The Prince d'Amours gave a mask to the Prince Elector and his brother in the Middle Temple, where the Queen was pleased to grace the entertainment by putting off majesty to put on a citizen's habit, and to sit upon the scaffold upon the right hand among her subjects" [with lords and ladies]. "The Queen was pleased to tell me at her going away that she liked it very well" (Herbert MS.).

1636. Feb. 27.—Corona Minervæ: a mask presented before Prince Charles, the Duke of York, and the Lady Mary at the Museum Minervæ ("Biog. Dram.").

The only lists of Court performers in masks in this period known to me are the following, 1. from Jonson's Love's Triumph through Callipolis, 1630:—

1. The Provident . . .	Marquis Hamilton.
2. The Judicious . . .	Lord Chamberlain.
3. The Secret . . .	Earl of Holland.

4.	The Valiant	Earl of Carnarvon.
5.	The Witty	Earl of Newport.
6.	The Jovial	Viscount Doncaster.
7.	The Secure	Lord Strange.
8.	The Substantial	Sir William Howard.
9.	The Modest	Sir Robert Stanley.
10.	The Candid	Sir William Brook.
11.	The Courteous	Master Goring.
12.	The Elegant	Master Raleigh.
13.	The Rational	Master Dimock.
14.	The Magnificent	Master Abercrombie.
15.	THE HEROICAL	THE KING.

And 2. from Davenant's Temple of Love, 1634 :—

1. THE QUEEN.

2.	Lady Marquess Hamilton.	3.	Lady Mary Herbert.
4.	Countess of Oxford.	5.	Countess of Berkshire.
6.	Countess of Carnarvon.	7.	Countess of Newport.
8.	Lady Herbert.	9.	Lady Catherine Howard.
10.	Lady Anne Carre.	11.	Lady Elizabeth Feilding.
12.	Lady Thimbleby.	13.	Mistress Dorothy Savage.
14.	Mistress Victory Cary.	15.	Mistress Nevil.

1. Duke of Lennox.

2.	Earl of Newport.	3.	Earl of Desmond.
4.	Viscount Grandeson.	5.	Lord Russel.
6.	Lord Doncaster.	7.	Master Thomas Weston.
8.	Master George Goring.	9.	Master Henry Murray.

Our documents for Charles' reign are so scrappy that no useful purpose would be served by tabulating Court plays, payments, &c., as I have done for the preceding reigns. I have made the tables, but they are not worth printing.

SECTION C.

COMPANIES (1625–1636).

1. The Lady Elizabeth's players passed to Queen Henrietta c. 24th June 1625. The lists which this company often prefixed to their plays enable us to identify their chief members before and after this change. They acted at the Cockpit under the management of Christopher Beeston.

	Massinger's Renegado, lic. 1624, Apr. 17. L. ELIZABETH.	Shirley's Wedding, 1626, May 31. QUEEN HEN.	Heywood's 1. 2. Fair Maid of W., 1631, Jun. 16, S.R. QUEEN HEN.	Nabbes' Han: and Scipio, 1635. QUEEN HEN.	Davenport's John and Matilda, [c. 1635]. QUEEN HEN.
Michael Bowyer	Vitelli	Beauford	Spencer	Scipio	John
John Sumner	Mustapha	Marwood	D. of Florence	Hamilcar	{ Young Bruce }
William Robins[on]	Carazie	Rawbone	Clem	...	...
William Allen	Grimaldi	Capt. Landby	Mullisheg	Hannibal	Pandulph
Edward Rogers	Donusa	Lucibel	...	...	...
John Blaney	Asam Beg	...	...		...
William Reignalds	Francisco	...	..		...
Theophilus Bourne	Paulina	...	Toota 2	Massiuissa	...
Edward Shakerly	Gazett	..	...	..	...
Richard Perkins	...	Belfare	Goodlack	Hanno	Fitzwater
William Sherlock	...	Lodam	Ruffman	Maharbal	Brand
Antony Turner	...	Just. Landby	Maid: Alcade, 2	Piston	Old Bruce
William Wilbraham	...	Isaac	Alcade	..	...
John Young	...	Haver	...	...	Lester
Timothy Read	..	Cardona	...	...	...
Hugh Clarke	..	Gratiana	Bess Bridges	{ Syphax: Nuntius }	Hubert
John Page	.	Jane	...	Lelius	...
John Dobson	...	Camelion	...	...	..
Robert Axen	..	...	Merchant	{ Bomilcar: Gorgon }	.
Ezekiel Fenn	.	...	{ Duke of Mantua, 2 }	Sophonisba	..
Hatfield	..	...	...	{ Bostar: Soldier }	..
Jackson	..	...	...	...	Chester
Christopher Goad	...	...	{ Forset, Spanish Capt., Duke of Ferrara, 2 }	...	Oxford
[A. Pennycuicke	...	...	...	..	Matilda]

In the centre column " 2 " after a character means that the actor took this part in the second play only.

2. When the patents for the newly arranged companies were issued 24th June 1625 (a week after the entry of the newly

married King and Queen into London, 16th June), the King adopted the players of his father, and there was no member of the then Royal Family who could patronise the Prince's men. The old Elizabethan system of patronage by a nobleman was not resorted to, and they were simply called the company of the Red Bull theatre. Only the royally patronised players acted at Court, and these men fell into a very subordinate position. I call them "The Outsiders."

3. Of the King's men we have unusually abundant records during this period. I will first of all enumerate the lists of these players.

1. We have a complete list of those who attended on 7th May at the funeral of James. On 27th March 1625 an allowance was made them for cloaks, &c., for this purpose, and the New Shakspere Society have printed the grant and the names of the recipients. The absence of the name of William Rowley will be noticed. Although at this time a member of the late King's players, he attended as one of his former company the Prince's men. Halliwell's statement on the matter ("Illustrations," p. 30) is, as usual, inaccurate. For the players' place in the procession see Nichols, iii. 1042.

2. On 24th June 1625 a patent was issued for the new King's men (Collier, i. 435). It also permitted them to travel on account of the plague. The Master of the Revels licensed them on July 1 for the same purpose; they acted at Skipton.

3. A list of actors is given in Ford's Lover's Melancholy, licensed 24th Nov. 1628. From this we obtain names of boys and hired men not included in the preceding lists.

4. King Charles allowed his players every second year at Easter [in commemoration of his father's funeral, I suppose] 4 yards of bastard scarlet for a cloak and 1 : 4 yard of crimson velvet for a cape. One warrant, 6th May 1629, is extant.

5. A players' pass for travelling was given them 17th May 1636. The theatres were closed on 12th May in consequence of the plague. This list includes only eight men, and leaves the

"ten more or thereabouts of their fellows" unnamed. The eight named are evidently boys or hired men, and the ten others are the chief men; among them must have been the names I have asterised in the following table:—

	1625, Mar. 27.	1625, June 24.	1628, Nov. 24.	1629, May 6.	1636, May 17.
John Hemings	1	1	...	1	...
Henry Condell	2	2	...	...	...
John Lowin	15	3	1	2	*
Joseph Taylor	10	4	2	3	*
Richard Robinson	6	5	...	4	*
Robert Benfield	11	6	3	6	*
John Shank	8	7	4	5	...
William Rowley	...	8	...	...	...
John Rice	12	9	...	...	...
Elyard Swanston	9	10	5	8	*
George Birch	4	11	...	...	*
Richard Sharp	5	12	7	7	...
Thomas Pollard	14	...	8	9	*
Richard Perkins	3	...	...	...	...
George Vernon	7	...	11	13	...
James Horne	13	...	15	14	...
Antony Smith	...	...	6	10	...
William Penn	...	...	9	12	1
Curtis Greville	...	...	10	...	...
Richard Baxter	...	...	12	...	5
John Thomson	...	...	13	...	...
William Trigg	...	...	14	...	3
Sander Gough	...	...	16	...	6
Thomas Hobbes	...	...	17	11	2
William Patrick	...	...	...	...	4
William Hart	...	...	...	...	7
Richard Hawley	...	...	...	...	8

Besides these official lists we have also lists prefixed to various plays sufficiently indicated in the headings of the further table here annexed. One remark, however, may be permissible. These lists (with characters) are often of use in determining chronological difficulties; for example, in this table Honeyman, who takes female parts in the first three plays, has a man's character in The Wildgoose Chase. The cast for that play is therefore subsequent to 1629, and must be that of the 1632 performance, not that of 1621, as is generally supposed. Honeyman's beard had not then grown; nor indeed did he act at all till 1628.

	Massinger's Roman Actor, 1626, Oct. 11.	Massinger's Picture, 1629, June 8.	Carlell's Deserving Fav., published 1629.	Massinger's Believe as you list, 1631, Jan. 11.	Fletcher's Wildgoose Chase, 1632, Nov. 2.
John Lowin	Domitian	Eubulus	Jacomo	Flaminius	Belleur
Joseph Taylor	Paris	Mathias	Duke	Antiochus	Mirabel
Thomas Pollard	Lamia	Ubaldo	...	Berecynthus	Pinac
Robert Benfield	Rusticus	Ladislaus	King	Marcellus	De Gard
William Patrick	Sura	...	...	...	...
Richard Sharp	Parthenius	Ferdinand	Lysander	...	...
Elyard Swanston	Aretinus.	Ricardo	Utrante	Chrysalus	Lugier
Richard Robinson	Æsopus	..	Orsinio, Hermit	Lentulus	La Castre
Curtis Greville	Latinus	...	...	...	...
Antony Smith	Philargus	...	...	...	...
George Vernon	Sejeius	...	Guard	...	...
James Horne	Entellus	...	...	...	...
John Thompson	Domitia	Honoria	Cleonarda	...	...
John Hunnyman	Domitilla	Sophia	Clarinda	Merchant	Factor
William Trigg	Julia	Corisca	...	...	Rosalura
Alexander Gough	Cænis	Acanthe	...	...	Lilia Bianca
William Penn	...	Baptista	...	Merch.: Jailor	Nantolet
John Shank	...	Hilario	...	...	Servant
Edward Horton	...	...	Mariana	...	...
Thomas Hobbes	...	...	...	Calistus	...
Rowland —	...	...	...	Hamilcar, Prusias, &c.	...
Richard Baxter	...	...	...	Titus: Officer: Servant	...
— Balls	...	...	...	Queen	...
Nick —	...	...	...	Cornelia	...
Stephen Hamerton	...	...	...	...	Oriana

Harry Wilson (as a musician), W. Mago, Gascoigne, and Herbert also appear in the stage directions of Believe as you list. The cast for the Wildgoose Chase is that of the revival for Herbert's benefit, when Honeyman had outgrown female characters, not that of 1621.

I have yet to notice the important documents concerning the shares in the Globe and Blackfriars in 1635, the discovery of which constitutes the chief claim of Mr. Halliwell as a dramatic historian, and which goes far to redeem the mischief he has caused by unfounded conjecture and his support of the Collier forgeries. As the documents were published by him, and are easily accessible, notably in his "Outlines," I shall confine myself to a presentment of the facts disentangled from legal jargon and *ex parte* statements, a task which Halliwell prudently avoided. The documents are the following:—

1. [April.] Petition of Benfield, Swanston, and Pollard to the Chamberlain (Pembroke).

2. Their further petition.

3. [June.] The answer of Shank.

4. The answer of C. Burbadge, Winifred, "his brother's wife," and William, his son.

5. July 12. Pembroke's decision thereon.

6. Shank's petition.

7. Aug. 1. Pembroke's final decision.

Halliwell places 5 next after 1, and so muddles the whole of the chronology.

From these it appears that the housekeepers at some time after the building of the Globe in 1599 were Shakespeare, R. Burbadge, Condell, and Hemings, who had four shares each, the total number being sixteen, and also that at death they had the power to bequeath these shares, or, on retirement, to sell them. But this was certainly not the original arrangement. In 1603, on July 22, Pope left in his will to Mary Clark, *alias* Wood, and to Thomas Bromley, all the interest "which I have, or ought to have," in the Curtain and the Globe. There can be little doubt that "Mr. Pope" was a housekeeper at the time of his decease, and that his share was absorbed into those of the other housekeepers, the power to bequeath not being recognised. When Phillips made his will, 4th May 1605, he does not mention any shares, and yet "Mr. Phillips," as well as "Mr. Kempe" and "Mr. Bryan," must have been, in my opinion, housekeepers in the old Theater. But Kempe had left the company before the opening of the Globe in 1599, and Bryan was dead. We can get no evidence from their career. That of the wills of Pope and Phillips is all we can depend on; and, if my explanation is wrong, it is the only one yet offered. But we are on sure ground after Phillips' death. Shakespeare, Burbadge, Condell, and Hemings were sole and equal housekeepers. In 1610–11, when Shakespeare retired, his interest passed [by purchase, I presume] to Cuthbert Burbadge. When Burbadge died, 13th March 1619, his widow succeeded to all his property under his will; and when Condell died (he was buried 29th December 1627) his shares in like manner passed to his widow; so that in 1628 there were again four equal housekeepers—Hemings, C. Burbadge, Mrs.

Robinson, and Mrs. Condell. Between 1628 and 1635 Taylor and Lowin purchased two shares each, viz., two shares from Mrs. Condell, one from Hemings, and a half each from C. Burbadge and Mrs. Robinson. Hemings died 10th October 1630, and his shares were sold "surreptitiously" by his son, William Hemings; one in 1633, c. June 24, and two in 1634, to Shank. Benfield, Swanston, and Pollard felt that they, being of not inferior reputation to Shank, ought to have had at least equal option to purchase. After the failure of private negotiation they petitioned for a compulsory sale to them of one share each from the now three largest housekeepers, Shank and the Burbadges, and got it. The following table will enable the reader to clearly follow these complex details:—

Housekeepers in the Globe (1606–1635).

c. 1606.	1628.	c. 1629.	1634-5.	1635.
4, Shakespeare. 4, R. Burbadge. 4, Hemings. 4, Condell.	4, C. Burbadge. 4, Mrs. Robinson. 4, Hemings. 4, Mrs. Condell.	3½, C. Burbadge. 3½, Mrs. Robinson. 3, Hemings. 2, Mrs. Condell. 2, Taylor. 2, Lowin.	3½, C Burbadge. 3½, Mrs. Robinson. 3, Shank. 2, Mrs. Condell. 2, Taylor. 2, Lowin.	2½, C. Burbadge. 2½, Mrs. Robinson. 2, Shank. 2, Mrs. Condell. 2, Taylor. 2, Lowin. 1, Swanston. 1, Pollard. 1, Benfield.
Mrs. Condell was buried 3rd October 1635.				

Housekeepers in Blackfriars.

c. 1610.	1628.	c. 1629.	1634-5.	1635.
2, Shakespeare. 2, R. Burbadge. 2, Hemings. 2, Condell.	2, C. Burbadge. 2, Mrs. Robinson. 2, Hemings. 2, Mrs. Condell.	1, C. Burbadge. 1, Mrs. Robinson. 2, Hemings. 1, Mrs. Condell. 1, Taylor. 1, Lowin. [1, Underwood.]	1, C. Burbadge. 1, Mrs. Robinson. 2, Shank. 1, Mrs. Condell. 1, Taylor. 1, Lowin. 1, Underwood.	1, C. Burbadge. 1, Mrs. Robinson. 1, Shank. 1, Mrs. Condell. 1, Taylor. 1, Lowin. 1, Underwood. 1, Swanston.

The numbers prefixed to the names indicate the number of shares held. Mrs. Robinson was Winifred Burbadge, who had married again. Eight shares in the Globe were held at some time between 1610 and 1628 by Cuthbert and "his sisters." His

son William had probably only a prospective interest as heir; the documents do not inform us on this point.

I have placed the Table for Blackfriars in close juxtaposition with that for the Globe because the history of its shares is so extremely similar. Indeed, if columns 2 and 3, which I have filled up conjecturally, be allowed (as I think they will be) we, may say they are almost identical. In the petitions and answers Blackfriars is touched on more lightly than the Globe, only one interest being concerned, Swanston's, who desired to buy one of Shank's shares. His petition was granted on the same grounds as that for the Globe shares. As in these documents the housekeepers (simply, but wrongly, called "sharers" by Mr. Halliwell) are clearly distinguished from actor-sharers, it will be worth while to point out the difference. The total gains account was kept separately from that of the takings at the outer entrance-doors, and included all charges for galleries, boxes or rooms, seats or stools, &c. Half these "whole gains" (excluding entrance-money) belonged to the housekeepers only; the other half and the entrance-money were divided among all the sharers, whether actors or housekeepers. Out of this latter moiety the rest of the staff, "hired men," besides properties, "apparrel, poets, lights, and other charges whatsoever," were paid for. The boy actors were purchased from other companies or brought up as apprentices by the housekeepers, and I presume their reimbursement must have come by way of payment for their acting out of the same general fund. Shank alleges that he paid £40 for Thompson and [something less] for Pollard, that he maintains three boys in 1635, and that the housekeepers have paid £200 for Honeyman, Holcombe, and others since he came, c. 1619. Other interesting details may be gathered.

1. There were three actors who were housekeepers, nine who were not; twelve in all. All the other performers were either hired men or boys.

2. The charges for hired men, boys, music, and lights were about £3 a day; exclusive of poets and properties, when new plays were produced.

3. The rent for the two houses was £65, on repairing leases, of which some £25 was recouped by underletting a taproom, tenement, and garden; but Shank says the rent is £100, not £65.

4. Shank gave £156 for a six years share in the Blackfriars (subject to a rent of £6, 5s.: total rent of Blackfriars, therefore, £50) and a two years share in the Globe: he also gave £350 for a five years share in Blackfriars and two "one years shares" in the Globe. Either he took Hemings in by the first bargain or the value of the shares doubled at least between 1633 and 1634, which is unlikely.

5. The actors (not housekeepers) received £180 each in 1634.

6. Swanston about 1633 bought a third of a six years share in Blackfriars for £20, and in 1635 had received £34 for one year's profit on it. Shank says Swanston got for £20 what he had paid £60 for; that would make £180 for a whole share for five years (the last bought by Shank). He gave then £170 for the two shares in the Globe for one year.

From these details, among other things, we gather that an actor in 1635 got £180 and a housekeeper for each share in Blackfriars, about £112. The Globe shares appear, from Shank's purchase money, to have been about twice as valuable So that Shakespeare in 1635, had he lived, might have received—

For his four shares in the Globe,	£1088	
For his two shares in Blackfriars,	272	
As poet say	30	Total, £1545.
As actor, ...	180	
Court money	5	

Making all allowances for the difference between 1610 under James and 1635 under Charles, but remembering also that the Globe was in Shakespeare's time the Court theatre *par excellence* as well as the most popular, I think I may consider that the interminable dissertations as to how he got his money may as well come to an end, especially as he had his shares for nothing.

There is a difficulty about Swanston's share. He is expressly stated in the answers to have held a third part of a housekeeper's

share at Blackfriars since 1633, and yet in the list at the end of the first petition his name does not appear. I think Underwood must have held only two-thirds of a share.

It appears from Shank's answer that he had acted in Pembroke's company [c. 1589], afterwards in the Queen's [in 1603 he was with Prince Henry's; in 1613 with the Palsgrave's], in 1619 with King James', and from 1625 to 1635 with King Charles'. Burt was one of his boys; but is not mentioned by name in these documents.

4. When the Revels company broke in August 1623 many of them passed to the Lady Elizabeth's men, and others no doubt to other companies; but some of them, I think, went on to the Continent. In Dekker's Rod for Runaways, 1625 [June–August], all persons who avoided the plague of 1625 are abused. In the Runaways' Answer, published immediately after, 22nd September, the players reply, "We can be bankrupts on this side and gentlemen beyond the sea: we burst at London and are pieced up at Rotterdam." The Revels was the only company that burst in London at this time; the company that was pieced up at Rotterdam was probably the same that was at Torgau 1st April 1627 (Cohn, xcvii.):—

Robert Pickelherring [Robert Lee].
Two boys.
James the Hessian.
John Eydtwartt.
Aaron the dancer.
Thomas the maiden [Thomas Basse].
John.
William the tireman.
The Englishman.
Red-head.
Four boys.

In London there were only four companies till 1629, when the Salisbury Court theatre was built, and a new company, that of the King's Revels, was constituted to occupy it. They acted there

until the establishment of Prince Charles' company, when they removed to the Fortune in January 1632; they returned to Salisbury Court in 1633 (when Prince Charles' men went to Scotland), and remained there till 1636. Their chief members are known from the cast prefixed to N. Richards' Messalina. [See also under the next paragraph] :—

William Cartwright, Sen^{r} .	Claudius [from the Fortune].
Christopher Goad . .	Silius [from Q. Henrietta's].
John Robinson . . .	Saufellus.
Samuel Tomson . . .	Manester.
Richard Johnson . . .	Montanus.
William Hall . . .	Mela.
John Barret . . .	Messalina.
Thomas Jordan . . .	Lepida.
Mathias Morris . . .	Sylana.

5. The date of the establishment of the Prince Charles 2 company, or rather of his taking over of the Fortune company, formerly the Palsgrave's, is not hard to fix. On 10th January 1632 Shirley's Changes or Love in a maze was licensed for the Revels players at Salisbury Court. On 26th January 1632 Marmion's Holland's Leaguer was entered S. R., which was performed by Prince Charles' men at that theatre. The date of their removal from the Fortune, therefore, lies between January 10 and January 26, and this was doubtless also the date of their assuming the name of the Prince's players. Charles was born 29th May 1630; he was a young patron. When the King went to Scotland, 1633, May 13, these players accompanied him, as appears from a Council Warrant of 1634, August 25, "for the Prince's players for their attendance abroad [*i.e.*, out of London] during their attendance at Court." The King had made no progress before this date after his return from Scotland, 6th July. When they returned to London it was not to Salisbury Court, but to their old quarters at the Fortune. During the time that the Prince's men occupied Salisbury Court the Revels company appear to have travelled with a true passport, but under false names; for

on 6th May the Mayor of Banbury and two Justices wrote to the Privy Council that they had imprisoned six players as wandering rogues, suspecting their Patent from the King and commission from the Master of the Revels to be forged. On May 22 the Privy Council sent for the players; on June 3 they tendered their appearance in London, and on June 4 were discharged under bond, to be forthcoming when called upon. They then, I suppose, began to act in their former theatre at Salisbury Court. These six men were:—

1. Bartholomew Jones.
2. Richard Whiting (whose true name was Richard Johnson).
3. Edward Damport.
4. Drew Turner [a name made up from Thomas Drew's and Antony Turner's].
5. Robert Haughton.
6. Richard Colwell.

The name of Richard Johnson (the only unfeigned name on the list) enables me to identify these men as the Revels company. (See preceding paragraph.)

The Prince Charles' players in January 1632 are known from the list prefixed to Marmion's Holland's Leaguer:—

1. William Browne.
2. Ellis Worth [from 1623 Revels].
3. Andrew Keyne [from 1622 Palsgrave's].
4. Matthew Smith.
5. James Sneller.
6. Henry Gradwell.
7. Thomas Bond.
8. Richard Fowler [from 1622 Palsgrave's].
9. Edward May.
10. Robert Huyt [White].
11. Robert Stafford.
12. Richard Godwin.
13. John Wright.
14. Richard Fouch.
15. Arthur Saville.
16. Samuel Mannery.

Scarcely any of the old Palsgrave's company of December 1621 were left at this date.

6. In 1628 Joseph Moore, Joseph Townsend (who had been in 1617 at the head of Lady Elizabeth's men), and Robert Guilman obtained a Privy Seal to act as the Lady Elizabeth's players "in and about the City of London, or in any other place they shall think fitting." Merely a strolling company, who are afterwards unheard of.

SECTION D.

THEATRES (1625–1636).

Globe and Blkfrs.	Salisbury Court.	Bull.	Fortune.	Cockpit.
1625–1636, King's.	1629–1632, Jan., King's Revels.	1625–1636, Bull Comp^{y}.	1625–1632, Jan., Fortune Comp^{y}.	1625–1636, Queen Hen.
	1632, Jan.–1633, May, Prince's [Ch. 2].		1632, Jan.–1633, May, King's Revels.	
	1633, May–1636, King's Revels.		1633, July–1636, Prince's [Ch. 2].	

This table contains all that is important concerning the theatres during this period, with one exception. Salisbury Court was a new theatre, built in 1629; and, although chronologically it takes the place of the Curtain (closed in 1623), topographically it was a revival of the Whitefriars theatre, like which it was a private house. There had been no play-place in this locality from 1614 onwards. It was a "Globe-like theatre," (Sharpe's Noble Stranger, 1640). The Prologue to Marmion's Holland's Leaguer acknowledges the superiority of the Globe and the Cockpit, but not of the Bull or Blackfriars, which are not mentioned; the Fortune and the removal thither of the Revels company are, however, alluded to: "forsook of late By the inhabitants since made Fortunate." I have already shown that the Blackfriars was in 1634 far less profitable than the Globe. Stow [Howes] calls Salisbury Court a "fair new playhouse."

HERBERT'S LICENSES FOR ACTING PLAYS (1626–1636).

1626. Jan. 22.—[For the King's men] at Blackfriars. The Fair Maid of the Inn by Fletcher [Rowley and Massinger].

1626. Feb. 3.—[For the King's men] at Blackfriars. The Noble Gentleman by Fletcher [and ? Rowley].

1626. Feb. 9.—[For the Queen's players at the Cockpit.] The Maid's Revenge by Shirley.

1626. July 17.—[For the King's men.] From Mr. Hemmings for a courtesy done him about their Blackfriars house, £3.

1626. Oct. 11.—For the King's company. The Roman Actor by Massinger.

1626. Nov. 4.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Brothers [Dick of Devonshire] by Shirley.

1627. Jan. 12.—[For the King's men.] The Cruel Brother by Davenant.

1627. April 11.—[For the King's men.] To forbid the playing of Shakespeare's plays to the Red Bull company, £5.

1627. June 6.—For the King's men. The Judge by Massinger.

1627. July 5.—For the Queen's servants [at the Cockpit]. The Great Duke [of Florence] by Massinger [written in 1625].

1628. May 6.—[For the King's men.] The Honor of Women [Spanish Viceroy altered] by Massinger.

1628. May 25.—The King's company gave Herbert the benefit of two days in the year, one in summer, one in winter, of the 2nd day of a revived play at his own choice. The housekeepers likewise gave their shares, their daily charge [expenses] only deducted, which comes to some £2, 5s. 0d. [Query, £820 per annum]. The benefit of the first day, May 25, was only £4, 5s. 0d., the weather being unseasonable. No play is named, but it appears from the Isham letter of 1628, August 8, in the *Athenæum* of 18th October 1879, that Henry 8 was revived at this time, being acted by the King's men on Tuesday, August 5, and Lucreece [by Heywood] by the Queen's men on August 6 [at the Cockpit].

1628. Oct. 3.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Witty Fair One by Shirley.

1628. Nov. 22.—From the King's men at Blackfriars, £17, 10s. od. The Winter benefit. The Custom of the Country [by Fletcher and Massinger].

1628. [Nov. 24.—By the King's men. Ford's Lover's Melancholy was acted.]

1629. Feb.—For the King's men. The Lovesick Maid or Honor of Young Ladies by R. Brome. On Mar. 10 they presented Herbert with £2 "on its good success" ("Biog. Dram.").

1629. June 8.—For the King's company. The Picture by Massinger.

1629. July 22.—For the King's company. The Colonel by Davenant.

1629. July 21.—From the King's company £6, 7s. od. The Summer benefit. The Prophetess by Massinger. "Brought me by Blagrave."

1629. Oct. 2.—For the King's men. The Just Italian by Davenant.

1629. Nov. 3.—For the Queen's men at the Cockpit. The Faithful. [Grateful] Servant by Shirley.

1629. Nov. 4.—("Variorum," iii. 120). For the allowing of the French Company [with women actors] to play a farce at Blackfriars, £2.

1629. Nov. 22.—For allowing of the French at the Red Bull for a day [£2].

1629. Dec. 14.—For allowing of a French company to play at the Fortune one afternoon, £1. "I should have had another piece, but in respect of their ill fortune I was content to bestow a piece back."

1629. Nov. 22.—From the King's company, £9, 16s. od. Winter Benefit. The Moor of Venice [Shakespeare's Othello].

1629. Nov. 23.—For the King's men. Minerva's Sacrifice [Forced Lady] by Massinger.

1630. Jan. 11.—I did refuse to allow a play of Massinger's, because it did contain dangerous matter, as the deposing of Sebas-

tian King of Portugal by Philip the [King of Spain], and there being a peace sworn betwixt the Kings of England and Spain. I had my fee notwithstanding which belongs to me for reading it over and ought to be brought always with the book. [See below 1631, May 7. *N.B.* Plague in 1630: no summer benefit.]

1631. Feb. 18.—From the King's men, £12, 4s. 0d. Winter benefit. Jonson's Every man in his humor. Paid by Taylor and Lowins.

1631. Mar. 20.—For the King's men. The Emperor of the East by Massinger.

1631. May 4.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Traitor by Shirley.

1631. May 7.—For the King's men. Believe as you list [the play of 11th January reformed] by Massinger.

1631. May 17.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Duke [Humorous Courtier] by Shirley.

1631. June 10.—From the King's men, £3, 10s. 0d. "for a gratuity for their liberty gained unto them of playing upon the cessation of the plague." Paid by Benfield. "This was taken upon Pericles [by Shakespeare and Wilkins] at the Globe." There is no Mortality Bill extant for this year, so that we do not know when the theatres were closed. From the preceding entries we may guess it was in May.

1631. June 12.—From the King's men, £5, 6s. 6d. Summer benefit. Richard 2 [by Shakespeare]. Paid by Shank [who was not yet a householder].

1631. June 13.—For the King's men. The Unfortunate Piety [or Italian Night Piece] by Massinger.

1631. Nov. 14.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] Love's Cruelty by Shirley.

1631. Dec. 1.—From the King's company, £13. Winter benefit. The Alchemist [by Jonson]. Paid by Blagrave.

1632. Jan. 10.—For [the Revels players at] Salisbury Court. The Changes [or Love in a Maze] by Shirley.

1632. Apr. 20.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] Hyde Park by Shirley.

1632. May 25.—For the King's men. The City Madam [reformed] by Massinger.

1632. Oct. 12.—[For the King's men] £2. "received of Knight [the Blackfriars bookkeeper] for allowing of Ben Johnson's play called Humours Reconciled or The Magnetic Lady to be acted."

1632. Nov. 6.—From the King's men, £1, 5s. 0d. Summer benefit, and £15 Winter benefit. The Wildgoose Chase [by Fletcher].

1632. Nov. 18.—"In the play of the Ball written by Shirley and acted by the Queen's players there were divers personated so naturally both of lords and others in the Court that I took it ill and would have forbidden the play but that [Christopher] Beeston promised many things which I found fault withall should be left out, and that he would not suffer it to be done by the poet any more, who deserves to be punished: and the first who offends in this kind of poets or players shall be sure of public punishment." [Chapman replaced the offending parts by bits written by himself and changed some names.]

1633. Jan. 21.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Beauties [Bird in a cage] by Shirley.

1633. May 7.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit, not the King's at Blackfriars, as usually stated after careless and inaccurate Gifford.] Received for allowing of the Tale of the Tub [by Jonson] Vitruvius Hoop's part wholly struck out and the motion of the tub [which was published notwithstanding] by command from my lord chamberlain: exceptions being taken against it by Inigo Jones, surveyor of the King's works, as a personal injury unto him, £2. [Yet Jonson had no "public punishment."]

1633. May 11.—For the Queen's Players [at the Cockpit], £2. For a play of Fletcher's corrected by Shirley called the Nightwalkers [The Nightwalker or The Little Thief].

1633. June 6.—From the King's men, £4, 10s. 0d. Summer benefit. By Blagrave.

1633. July 3.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] "The comedy called The Young Admiral, being free from oaths, pro-

phaneness, or obsceneness, hath given me much delight and satisfaction in the reading, and may serve as a pattern to other poets [Jonson, to wit] not only for the bettering of manners and language, but for the improvement of the quality which have received some brushings of late. When Mr. Shirley hath read this approbation, I know it will encourage him," &c.

1633. Aug. 15.—[For the Queen's players at the Cockpit.] "Received of [Christopher] Beeston for an old play called Hymen's Holiday [or Cupid's Vagaries by Samuel Rowley] newly revived at their house, being a play given unto him for my use," £3. For alterations therein, £1.

1633. Oct.—Exception was taken by Mr. Sewster to 2 City Shuffler. The play was stayed by Herbert, and the [King's Revels or] Salisbury Court players gave Sewster satisfaction the next day, as he certified in writing to Herbert (Collier, i. 481).

1633. Oct. 24.—Jonson's Magnetic Lady had been brought under the notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury as offensive. The players in a petition to him threw all the blame on Herbert and Jonson. In their second petition to him of 24th Oct. they did him right as to his care in purging their plays and laid their fault on the actors [the King's men; but Jonson was the culprit, if not in the oaths, certainly in the personal satire].

1633. Oct. 30.—By the King's men: a composition was made with Herbert to pay £10 in summer and £10 in winter in lieu of his benefit plays.

1633. Oct. 31.—For the King's men. The Guardian by Massinger.

1633. Nov. 11.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Gamester by Shirley.

1633. Nov. 23.—For the King's men. The Loyal Subject by Fletcher, an old play formerly allowed by Sir G. Buc, 1618, Nov. 16, now allowed "with some reformations." Fee £1. "The first old play sent me to be perused by the King's players."

1633. Dec.—Endymion Porter complained to the King [of Herbert's over-scrupulosity in the matter of oaths]: accordingly on

1634. Jan. 9, the King went over Herbert's corrections in Davenant's Wits, and allowed "faith, death, slight, for asseverations and no oaths, to which I do humbly submit as my master's judgement, but under favour conceive them to be oaths."

1634. Jan. 10.—[For the King's men.] The Wits by Davenant, "corrected by the King." "The King would not take the book at Mr. Porter's hands, but commanded him to bring it unto me, which he did, and afterwards commanded Davenant to come to me for it, as I believe. Otherwise he would not have been so civil."

1634. May 7.—For the King's men. Cleander [or the Painter; the same as the Lovers' Progress, in my opinion] by Massinger [altered from Fletcher].

1634. May 13 ("Variorum," iii. 167).—The Queen saw this play acted at Blackfriars.

1634. June 6.—For the King's men. A Very Woman [or the Prince of Tarent; the same, I believe, as The Woman's Plot or A Right Woman: altered from Fletcher] by Massinger.

1634. June 24.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Example by Shirley.

1634. Nov. 20.—For the King's men. Love and Honor by Davenant.

1634. Nov. 29.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Opportunity by Shirley.

1635. Jan. 10.—For the King's men. The Orator [or The Noble Choice] by Massinger.

1635. Feb. 6.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Coronation by Shirley.

1635. Feb. 16.—"I committed Cromes, a broker in Long Lane, to the Marshalsea for lending a church robe with the name of JESUS upon it to the players in Salisbury Court [King's Revels], to present a flamen, a priest of the heathens. Upon his petition of submission and acknowledgement of his fault I released him the 17th Feb."

1635. April 29.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] Chabot the Admiral of France [altered from] Chapman by Shirley.

1635. Aug. 1.—For the King's men. News of [from] Plymouth by Davenant.

1635. Oct. 15.—[For the Queen's men at the Cockpit.] The Lady of Pleasure by Shirley.

1635. Nov. 16.—For the King's men. The Platonic Lovers by Davenant.

1635.—The French players ("Variorum," iii. 121). Feb. 17, Tuesday. "A French company of players being approved of by the Queen at her house [residence or theatre ?] two nights before and commended by her Majesty to the King," acted Melise, a French comedy, at the Cockpit in Whitehall, for which they had £10, "with good approbation."

1635. Feb. 20, Friday.—The King ordered that they should play the two sermon days during Lent [days on which the English players did not act] at the Cockpit, "where the Queen's players usually play." Mr. [Christopher] Beeston readily obeyed this order as transmitted by Herbert the same day. The housekeepers promised them the benefit of their interest for the two [sermon] days of the first week. They got £200 at least, beside many rich clothes given them.

1635. Mar. 16–21.—"They had freely to themselves the whole week before the week before Easter, which I obtained of the King for them."

1635. April 4, Easter Monday [wrong: Easter Monday fell on Mar. 30. Query, on 13th April, third Monday after Easter. Compare the next entry].—They played the Trompeur Puni "with better approbation than the other."

1635. April 16 [should be 15], Wednesday.—They played Alcimedor with good approbation. "The French offered me a present of £10, but I refused it, and did them many other courtesies *gratis* to render the Queen, my mistress, an acceptable service."

1635. April 18.—Josias Floridor's house was licensed for acting [by a Privy Seal].

1635. May 5.—A warrant [patent] was granted to Josias D'Aunay, Hurfries de Lau, and others to act plays at a new house

in Drury Lane during [the King's] pleasure. This theatre was built by M. Le Fevure in the manage house [riding-school]. The Frenchmen, though Herbert would take nothing of them, gave Blagrave, his deputy, £3 for his pains.

1635. Dec. 23.—John Navarro received £10 for a play before the King acted by his Spanish company.

1636. Jan. 18.—[For the Queen's players at the Cockpit.] The Duke's mistress by Shirley.

1636. Feb. 22.—The King promised Herbert that when Will Hunt Yeoman of the Revels should die a successor should not be appointed without consulting him.

1636. May 9.—For the King's men. The Bashful Lover by Massinger.

1636. May 12.—On the increase of the Plague to 4[1] within the city, and 54 in all, the Chamberlain issued a warrant to suppress plays, and Herbert sent his warrants to the 4 companies [King's, Queen's at the Cockpit, Revels at Salisbury Court, and Prince's at the Fortune]. No notice appears of the Bull company.

1637. Feb. 23—The Plague deaths fell to 44 [38, the true number, is given in the Mortality Bill], and the King gave liberty to play. They played one week, Feb. 24–Mar. 1; [the number then rose to 57, and] they lay still till Oct. 2 [although the number had fallen below 40 on Aug. 24, and remained so].

SECTION E.

AUTHORS (1625–1636).

I.—*King's at Globe and Blackfriars* (1625–1636).

Jonson . . .	Staple of News; New Inn; Magnetic Lady or Humors Reconciled.
Ford	Lover's Melancholy; Broken Heart.
Davenant	Cruel Brother; Colonel; Just Italian; Wits; Love and Honor; News from Plymouth; Platonic Lovers.

Brome . . . . . Northern Lass; Novella; Court Beggars [reformed for Cockpit]; Lovesick Maid or Honor of Young Ladies; Queen's Exchange [City Wit or Woman wears the Breeches; Covent Garden Weeded or Middlesex Justice of Peace; New Academy or New Exchange; Lovesick Court or Ambitious Politic; Damoiselle or New Ordinary]; Late Lancashire Witches [altered from an old play by] Heywood.

Glapthorne . . . Albertus Wallenstein.

Massinger . . . Fair Maid of the Inn [completed from Fletcher]; Roman Actor; Judge; Honor of Women [altered from Spanish Viceroy]; Picture; Minerva's Sacrifice or Forced Lady; Emperor of the East; Believe as you list; Unfortunate Piety or Italian Nightpiece; City Madam; Guardian; Cleander [Lovers' Progress reformed]; Very Woman or Prince of Tarent [Right Woman or Woman's Plot reformed]; Orator or Noble Choice [Elder Brother reformed]; Bashful Lover.

Anon. . . . . Alphonsus of Germany. [Wrongly attributed to Chapman; perhaps by Peele. An old play.]

Formido . . . . Governor.

Heywood . . . . Challenge for Beauty.

Carlell . . . . Deserving Favorite; 1, 2 Arviragus and Philicia; Passionate Lover; Spartan Ladies. [Fool would be a Favorite; Osmond the Grand Turk or The Noble Servant.]

II.—3 *Queen's* [*Henrietta's*] *at the Cockpit* (1625–1636).

Shirley . . . . Maid's Revenge; Wedding; Brothers [Dick of Devonshire]; Witty Fair One; Grateful or Faithful Servant; Traitor; Duke [or Humorous Courtier]; Love's Cruelty; Hyde Park; Ball [with bits by Chapman]; Beauties [or Bird in a Cage]; Nightwalker or Little Thief [reformed from Fletcher]; Young Admiral; Gamester; Constant Maid; Example; Opportunity; Coronation; Chabot the Admiral of France [reformed from Chapman]; Lady of Pleasure; Duke's Mistress.

T. Killigrew . . . Claricilla; Prisoners.

Heywood . . . . Royal King and Loyal Subject [Marshal Osric reformed]; 1, 2, Fair Maid of the West; English Traveller; Maidenhead well lost; Love's Mistress or Queen's Mask; 1, 2 If you know not me you know nobody [old plays revived]; Fortune by Land and Sea [Query, altered from H. Shirley: I do not trace W Rowley's hand in it]. I believe that all this group consists of revived and, of course, reformed plays; and such were Heywood's plays for Queen Anne's men, 1608–13.

Rutter . . . . . Shepherd's Holiday. 1, 2 Cid.
Nabbes . . . . Hannibal and Scipio.
Kirke . . . . . [Seven Champions of Christendom, acted at the Bull and the Cockpit].
Brome . . . . . Mad Couple; English Moor or Mock Marriage.

III.—"*Outsiders*" *at the Bull* (1625–1636).

No plays known.

IV.—2 *King's Revels* [*Charles* 1] (1629–1636).

At Salisbury Court (1629–1632).

Shirley . . . . Changes.
Anon. . . . . Costly Whore.

At the Fortune (1632–1633, *May*).

No plays known.

At Salisbury Court (1633, *May*–1636).

Glapthorne . . . The Lady Mother.
Brome . . . . . Sparagus Garden.
Anon. . . . . Sir Giles Goosecap [revived]; City Shuffler; Love's Aftergame or the Proxy.

V.—*Fortune Company* (1625–1631).

No plays known.

3 *Prince's* [*Charles* 2] *at Salisbury Court* (1632–1633, *May*).

Nabbes . . . . Covent Garden; Tottenham Court; Microcosmus.
Marmion . . . . Holland's Leaguer; Fine Companion.

At the Fortune (1633, *May*–1636).

No plays certainly known; but see Chap. vii.

SECTION F.

GENERAL STAGE HISTORY (1625–1636).

1625. Mar. 27.—Charles succeeded to the throne.

1625. June.—A statute was passed forbidding the acting of interludes and common plays on Sundays. The Plague deaths

had exceeded the regulation number on May 12, and did not fall below it till November 17. Hence the players travelled till December, and such new plays as were produced in this interval do not appear in Herbert's license entries. On December 30 the King's men had become so impoverished during their travel that the King gave them 100 marks [£66, 13s. 8d.], through Joseph Taylor, for better apparel. See Collier, i. 439, who prints the document from the Chapter-house MS., but is mistaken in his Plague dates.

1626. Aug. 12, Sep. 28.—John Williams and Thomas Dixon renewed the petition for the building of an amphitheatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields (see *supra*, p. 300). A bill was prepared, and on August 12 Lord Keeper Coventry reported favourably on it; but on September 28, having found that it was intended for common plays, and not, as in the former scheme, for extraordinary shows to Ambassadors and the like, in fact that it was intended to replace the playhouses [for fencers' prizes, &c.; *i.e.*, the Swan and the Hope, not the Globe] on Bankside and the Bear Garden, he held the grant unfit to pass. It did not pass (Collier, i. 443).

1626. Aug, 20.—In the warrant granted to Nat. Giles, Mus. Doc., to take up singing-boys it is expressly forbidden that any of the Children of the Chapel shall act in stage plays or interludes: it is not fit for such to sing the praises of God Almighty. *Tempora mutantur* since 1602.

1626. Nov. 7.—Herbert is styled Master of the Revels in a Privy Seal, Ashley being absolutely ignored.

1629. Aug. 13.—Sir Henry Herbert and Simon Thelwall Esq., obtained the reversion of the office of Master of the Revels on the deaths of Ashley and Ben Jonson. This shows that the title given to Herbert in the preceding paragraph was only complimentary.

1630. Sep. 20.—Sixth of Charles I. A privy seal was issued for £100 of the King's free gift to J. Hemings and his company, the King's men, on account of their being prevented by their late great hindrance [*i.e.*, the Plague, July 8–October 21] from acting

at Hampton Court at his next coming [at Christmas]. This item rather belongs to the history of the King's men, but is inserted here because the other companies must have been similarly hindered, and especially because Collier, i. 459, by altering the date to 1631, has connected the gift with the petition about to be noticed.

1631.—The inhabitants of Blackfriars petitioned the Bishop of London for the removal of the playhouse there, on account of interference with traffic, trade, and church services, danger in case of fire, and general inconvenience, but specially on the ground that it stood within the City, contrary to the old Council directions. Nothing followed on this.

1631, Sep. 27 [Query, 25], Sunday.—On November 10 John Spencer presented John Williams, bishop of Lincoln, for having Midsummer Night's Dream performed in his house on 27th September. The King referred the matter to Laud; and John Spencer, as head of a self-constituted Court of Puritans, condemned Williams to erect a free school and endow it, inflicted fines on many others, and ordered Wilson, the chief actor, to sit in the stocks with an ass's head. So Collier, i. 461. But the whole thing is a fabrication. Sunday fell on 25th, not 27th September. Midsummer Night's Dream is not "a tragedy," and there was no player of the King's men to whom this play belonged called Wilson. There was a musician so named. In Mr. Collier's index he confuses this so-called actor with Arthur Wilson, the historian.

1633.—Prynne. On 16th October 1630, S. R., Prynne's Histriomastix was licensed. In 1632 (my reasons for this date must be deferred till I have an opportunity to fully discuss Cartwright's theatrical career. It would not be justifiable to make so long a digression here; it must suffice for the present to state that it extended from 1632 to 1636, and that The Lady Errant was his first play) Cartwright's Lady Errant was acted [at Blackfriars, I think, and in the presence of the Queen]. In this play English women actors for the first time, and, so far as we are concerned, *i.e.*, before 1642, for the only time, represented the

female characters. On 8th January 1633 the Queen and her ladies presented W. Montague's Pastoral (not a masque, be it noted, but a play) at Denmark House. Of course it was known some time before that the Queen was going to act in this Pastoral. In this same month Prynne's Histriomastix was issued; Pagett in his letter to Harrington of 28th January (Collier, i. 466) says on "the next day after the Queen's Pastoral," *i.e.*, on 9th January; Gresley in his letter to Puckering of 31st January says "a little before the Queen's acting of her play." This book was post-dated 1633, although published before 25th March, when 1632 then ended. It contained in the very latest written parts of it, viz., in the Table and the brief additions, the words "Women actors notorious whores," and a quotation from Dion Cassius, quoted with approval p. 708: "It is infamous for emperors or persons of quality to dance upon a stage or act a play." Although it is quite possible that the immediate object of Prynne's attack was Cartwright's play, still the application to the Queen and her ladies was so palpable (for he must have known at the time of publication, if he did not at the time of his writing, that this Pastoral of theirs had been just acted, or was just going to be) that Laud was amply justified in bringing Prynne before the Star Chamber. No doubt he was further angered at Prynne's comparison of the organ playing between the lessons to the interludes [jigs between the acts] in stage plays, but this is beside the main purpose. His punishment, however, was excessive and vindictive. On 7th May 1634 one ear was mutilated in the pillory; on 10th May the other ear: he was fined £5000, expelled Lincoln's Inn, disbarred, deprived of his degree, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. The S. R. license of the book was crost out 1634, December 1. The defence set up for it in the tract of 1636, called "A Divine Tragedy," &c., is futile; it was not "licensed almost three years" nor "published 6 weeks" before the Queen's Pastoral. I suspect that Prynne's defence was that he only alluded to the French women actors of 1629, whom on p. 414 he had described as "monsters," and their attempt to act as "impudent, shameful, unwomanish, graceless, if not more than

whorish;" but these French women were probably under the direct patronage of the Queen, as we know the French company of 1635 were; so that this would not mend matters. Attacks on the French were regarded as personal by the Queen.

1633. Oct. 18.—The King published and ratified the 1618 Declaration regarding Sports and Pastimes on the Sabbath.

1633. Oct. 9, Nov. 20.—The Privy Council taking action (somewhat slowly) on the petition of 1631, on October 9 appointed the Aldermen of the Ward and two others (four in all) to inquire into and report on the 26th as to the removing of Blackfriars theatre on the ground of hindrance of traffic, &c. They coopted a fifth Justice of the Peace, and presented a report on 20th November. The players demanded at first £16,000 and afterwards £21,990 compensation. The justices valued the playhouse at fourteen years' purchase, £700, at £50 per annum. [The lease had only seven years to run. See 1635, Blackfriars papers.] For tenements for which they receive £75 rent and "a void piece of ground to turn coaches in" valued at £6 they also allow fourteen years' purchase, £1134. For the interest of the housekeepers and actor sharers, sixteen in all [including C. Burbadge, Mrs. Condell, and fourteen actors: cf. list of players in 1629], the players' demands came down to £150 each, £2400 in all, but the justices think they will accept 100 marks [£66, 13s. 4d.] each, or £1066, 13s. 4d. in all. Nothing came of all this, but some regulations about coaches not going up to the theatre, made on November 29; and these were virtually rescinded on 29th December by the Council at a meeting, at which the King presided. But the valuations of the property are of some use, especially when taken in conjunction with the 1635 documents noticed heretofore, p. 324.

1629–35.—Pallantus and Eudora, by Henry Killigrew, originally called The Conspiracy, was entered S. R. 1638, March 13. It had been acted at the Blackfriars; but was originally written for the marriage of Lady Mary Villiers to Charles Lord Herbert, who died in Florence 1635–6. Mary Villiers was born in March 1622, and Killigrew is said to have written the play at seventeen

years old. He was born 11th February 1612–13. This would bring the date of the play to 1629–30, when Lady Mary was only seven or eight years old. I do not know the date of her marriage, but think it was c. 1634, and that the acting of the play at Blackfriars was in 1634–5. It was certainly before the plague broke out in May 1636. But this play, being intended to entertain their Majesties at York House, had "scenes fitted to it throughout," and was the first English play represented with scenery on the stage. Almost, if not quite, contemporaneous was Heywood's Love's Mistress, acted by the rival company at the Cockpit 1634, which also had scenes by Inigo Jones, and in it occurs what I believe to be an allusion to the marriage of this girl of twelve years:—

> "Fine little rattle babies scarce thus high
> Are now called wives: if long this hot world stand,
> We shall have all the earth turn Pigmy-land."

In any case, the introduction of scenery (though the example was not generally followed) in English plays was made in 1634 at latest, a much earlier date than that usually given.

CHAPTER VII.

SECTION A.

INTRODUCTION (1637–1642).

THE Iron Age of the Theatre began in 1637, and has, in my reckoning, not yet expired. Its commencement is marked by the death of Jonson, the last survivor of the Elizabethan men. It is only for the sake of completing the story of the still remaining Jacobeans, Ford, Shirley, and Massinger, that it is worth while to continue the chronicle to 1642; while to go beyond this and consider the drama of the Restoration, the link between which and the earlier time of prosperity lies in the "opera" of Davenant and his unendurable alterations of the greatest of Shakespeare's plays, would to me be anything but a Love's Labour Won. I therefore stop at the great break in theatrical performances caused by the ordinance of 1642.

The only memorable event in these few years of decadence is the establishment of Beeston's young company under the patronage of the King and Queen, and their almost immediate transference from the management of William Beeston (son of Christopher, not brother, as Collier, ii. 24, would have it; see the Epilogue to Brome's Court Beggar) to that of Davenant, the pragmatical monopolist and Nasutius Neapolitanus of Lady Alimony. This ill-advised attempt at reviving the action of a pigmy company in imitation of the King's and Queen's Revels children of 1607–9 met with the fate it deserved. The personal abuse of the older period was renewed, without the pungency of wit which made it tolerable; and the only result of value to us was the necessity,

which the dispute between these rattle babies and the adult companies induced, of the publication of a list of plays to which the Cockpit company of 1639 claimed a prescriptive right. This list is of the highest value in settling disputed questions in the chronology of the works of Fletcher and others, as I have partly shown, and hope to prove still further elsewhere.

SECTION B.

COURT PERFORMANCES (1636–1642).

a. PLAYS.

1636. Dec. 26, Monday afternoon.—At Hampton Court 1 Arviragus [and Philecia, by L. Carlell, was acted by the King's men].

1636. Dec. 27, Tuesday.—2 Arviragus [and Philecia, by L. Carlell, was acted by the King's men].

1637. Jan. 1, New Year's night, Sunday.—Love and Honor [by Davenant, was acted by the King's men].

1637. Jan. 5, Thursday.—The Elder Brother [by Fletcher, altered by Massinger, was acted by the King's men].

1637. Jan. 10, Tuesday.—The King and no King [by Beaumont and Fletcher, was acted by the King's men].

1637. Jan. 12, Thursday.—The Royal Slave, an Oxford Play by Cartwright, was acted by the King's men]. The King gave Cartwright £40. [This had been previously presented to the King and Queen at Oxford by the Christchurch students, 30th August 1636. It was fitted with scenes: in eight "appearances"].

1637. Jan. 24.—Rollo [Duke of Normandy or The Bloody Brother, by Fletcher and Massinger (Query, altered by Jonson), was acted by the King's men].

1637. Jan. 31.—At St. James', Julius Cæsar [by Shakespeare (Query, altered by Jonson) was acted by the King's men].

1637. Feb. 7.—Cupid's Revenge [by Beaumont and Fletcher, altered by Field] was acted by Beeston's boys [of the Cockpit].

1637. Feb. 9.—A wife for a month [by Fletcher] was acted by the King's men.

1637. Feb. 14.—Wit without money [by Fletcher] was acted by Beeston's boys [of the Cockpit].

1637. Feb. 17.—The Governor [by Sir Cornelius Formido] was acted by the King's men.

1637. Feb. 21, Shrove Tuesday.—Philaster [by Beaumont and Fletcher] was acted by the King's men. [Thus far from Herbert: "Variorum," iii. 239.]

1637. Mar. 15.—The King's men were paid £210 for 21 plays, and £30 in addition for the Royal Slave [for the scenery. Is not this £40 for this play the £40 which Herbert says was given to Cartwright?]: Collier, ii. 13.

1637. May 10.—Christopher Beeston was paid for 4 plays at Hampton Court at £20 each, and 5 plays at Whitehall [at £10 each] by the Queen's men in 1635 [*i.e.*, before 25th March 1636, and therefore before the plague broke out]; also for 2 plays [at £10 each] by Beeston's boys, "the new company" [on 1637, Feb. 7, 14].

1638. Mar. 15.—John Lowin, Joseph Taylor, and Eliard Swanston were paid for 14 plays [by the King's men] presented between 1637, Sep. 30, and 1638, Feb. 3. One play at Hampton Court at £20: the rest at £10 each.

1638. Mar. 21.—Joseph Moore was paid for 3 plays by the Prince's players [of the Red Bull] presented 1637, Nov.-Dec. One at Richmond at £20 "in consideration of their travel and remove of goods:" the others at £10 each.

1639. Mar. 12.—Lowin, Taylor, and Swanston were paid for 24 plays by the King's men: 6 at Hampton Court and Richmond at £20, and 18 at Whitehall at £10.

1638. June–1640. April.—Henry Turner was paid £80 for 7 plays by the Queen's men [of Salisbury Court]; Lowin, Taylor, and Swanston £230 for 21 plays by the King's men; and Moore and Cane £60 for 3 plays by the Prince's players [of the Red

Bull. These entries are from the MS. in the Chamberlain's Office, extracted by Chalmers ("Apology," p. 511) and Collier, ii. 19, 23].

1640. April 9.—"My L. Chamberlain bestowed a play on the King and Queen called Cleodora Queen of Arragon made by my cousin [H]abington. It was performed by my lord's servants out of his own family and [at] his charge in the clothes and the scenes, which were very rich and curious. In the hall at Whitehall" (Herbert). [This play was publicly acted at Blackfriars by the King's men.] Commended at Court and acted a second time.

1641. Mar. 20.—Lowin, Taylor, and Swanston were paid £160 for plays by the King's men presented between 1640, Nov. 10, and 1641, Feb. 22, before the King, Queen, and Prince.

1642. Jan. 6.—Twelfth Night. "The Prince had a play called The Scornful Lady [by Beaumont and Fletcher] at the Cockpit [at Whitehall; acted by the King's players], but the King and Queen were not there: and it was the only play acted at Court in the whole Christmas."

b. Masks.

1635–7.—There were no "masks with shews and intermedii" for 3 years on account of the painting of the ceiling at Whitehall. Davenant: "Britannia Triumphans."

1638. Jan. 7.—Sunday after Twelfth Night. Davenant and I. Jones. Britannia Triumphans was presented at Whitehall by the King and his Lords.

1638. c. Shrovetide.—Thomas Nabbes. Spring's Glory vindicating Love by Temperance was produced.

1638. May 29.—Thomas Nabbes. A presentation intended for the Prince's birthday is printed with the preceding in Nabbes' works.

1640. Jan. 6, Twelfth Night.—Aston Cockaine. A Masque was presented to Philip Earl of Chesterfield and his Countess at Bretbie, Derbyshire.

1640. Jan. 21, Tuesday.—Davenant and I. Jones. Salmacida Spolia was presented by the King and Queen at Whitehall.

Two lists of Court Performers are given in Davenant's works: vol. ii., 1872 edition.

1. *Britannia Triumphans*, 1638.

THE KING'S MAJESTY (2).

Duke of Lennox (2; T. L.).	Lord Lodowick Stuart.
Lord William Hamilton (2).	Earl of Devonshire.
Earl of Carlile (2).	Earl of Newport (2; T. L.)
Earl of Elgin.	Lord Andover.
Lord Philip Herbert.	Lord Paget (2).
Lord Russell (2; T. L.).	Lord Wharton.
Mr. Francis Russell (2).	Mr. Tho. Howard (2).

2. *Salmacida Spolia*, 1640.

THE KING'S MAJESTY (1).	THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY (T. L.)
Duke of Lenox (1; T. L.).	Duchess of Lenox.
Earl of Carlile (1).	Countess of Carnarvon (T. L.).
Earl of Newport (1; T. L.).	Countess of Newport (T. L.).
Earl of Leimricke (1).	Countess of Portland.
Lord Russell (1; T. L.).	Lady Andover.
Lord Herbert (1).	Lady Margaret Howard.
Lord Paget (1).	Lady Kellymekin.
Lord Fielding	Lady Francis Howard.
Master Russell (1).	Mistress Cary (T. L.).
Master Thomas Howard (1).	Mistress Nevil (T. L.).

The numerals after the names show which performers took part in both masks: "T. L." indicates those who had a share in the Temple of Love, 1635.

The Earl of Leimricke in 2. is a printer's blunder for Lanericke or Lanark, the same person as Lord William Hamilton; as pointed out by Maidment and Logan in their 1872 edition of Davenant.

SECTION C.

COMPANIES (1636–1642).

1. When the new company of Beeston's boys, already mentioned p. 350, was formed, the Queen's men, joined with the best of the Revels company, reopened after the plague had ceased on 2nd October 1637 at Salisbury Court. They retained the title of the Queen's servants. At the time of their leaving the Cockpit their best actors were Perkins, Michael Bowyer, Sumner, William Allan, and Bird [or Bourne] and Robins[on], a comedian ("Historia Histrionica"). All these have been mentioned in the Tables, p. 321. Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock, and [Antony] Turner are specially named by Herbert as "disposed" by him to Salisbury Court; but I suspect that this merely means that he consented to the removal of the company; the Master of the Revels had no such power of ordering and arranging companies as his words taken literally would imply. From the payments for Court performances it appears that Henry Turner [or rather Antony; no Henry Turner is met with elsewhere] was one of their chief men from 1638, June, to 1640, April. After that date scarce anything can be ascertained about this company, but I take it that Hugh Clerk, William Allen, and Theophilus Bird, who joined with the King's men in publishing the 1647 Beaumont and Fletcher folio, were the last *débris* of them, for all three had belonged to the Queen's men. Compare Herbert's Entry, 1637, Oct. 2, *infra*, p. 359.

2. The company that had played at the Bull 1625–1636 reappears under the name of the Company at the Fortune in

1637. Why they and Prince Charles' men had exchanged theatres nowhere appears. Great confusion has been caused by this company's having no name independent of the theatre where they acted. I call it the Outside company as not being one of "The four companies" patronised by the Court and recognised by Herbert.

3. From the Players' Pass. of 1636, May 17 ("Variorum," iii. 166), it appears that the King's men, a list of whose names has already been given, were required to attend his Majesty in his summer progress in that plague year (the theatres being shut), and that they had authority to act in any towns, in convenient rooms, "behaving themselves civilly." In the Christmas festivities of that year we have seen that they often acted at Court in spite of the plague; and on December 10 a Privy Seal was issued at Hampton Court granting them £20 a week as from November 1 onwards, in order that they might "keep themselves together" near the Court for the King's service (Collier, ii. 12). This was independent of the payments for plays acted by them. They acted at the Globe and Blackfriars as usual until the closing of the theatres in 1642. But we can trace this company a little beyond this. On 1645, September 22, in the newspaper called *Perfect Occurrences*, quoted by Collier, ii. 40, we read: "The King's players have come in and thrown themselves on the mercy of Parliament. They offer to take the Covenant, and if they may be accepted are willing to put themselves into their service." The dedication of the 1647 Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher was signed by ten players; seven were King's men and three either Queen's men or "Beeston's boys." In 1648 [December 20] they made up a company with the aid of other players, and acted privately for three or four days some plays at the Cockpit. While they were presenting The Bloody Brother there they were surprised by some soldiers, carried off to Hatton House, then a prison, in their stage dresses, stripped, and let go. Beyond this it is outside the scheme of this book to trace them, but those who wish will find interesting details (entirely neglected by Collier) in

Wright's "Historia Histrionica." The names of the players thus traceable are :—

Actors.	1647. B. and F.	Rollo.
John Lowin	1	Aubrey
Joseph Taylor	2	Rollo
Richard Robinson	3	...
Robert Benfield	4	...
Eliard Swanston	5	...
Thomas Pollard	6	Cook
Stephen Hammerton	9	...
George Birch	...	Latorch
William Hart	...	Otto

From the same source I append some characters taken by the principal King's players "before the wars" at Blackfriars :—

Actor.	Character.	Play.	Author.
John Lowin	Falstaff	Henry 4 and Merry Wives	Shakespeare
	Morose	Epicene	Jonson
	Volpone	Fox	
	Mammon	Alchemist	
	Melantius	Maid's Tragedy	Beaumont and Fletcher
Stephen Hammerton	Amyntor		
Joseph Taylor	Hamlet	Hamlet	Shakespeare
Jago	Truewit	Epicene	Jonson
	Face	Alchemist	
Hilliard Swanston	Othello	Othello	Shakespeare
Thomas Pollard	comic parts		
Richard Robinson	comic parts		
John Shank	Sir Roger	Scornful Lady	Beaumont and Fletcher
William Hart	Duchess	Cardinal	Shirley

Hart was Robinson's boy or apprentice; Clun was a Blackfriars boy; Burt was Shank's boy. [The date of Wright's principal early memoranda is c. 1635, while the Prince's men played at Salisbury Court. Occasionally he reaches a later time, as in the case of Shirley's Cardinal, 1641, but not often.] The Burt here mentioned was, I suppose, George Birch or Burght. Of Jago and Clun I have not found any earlier mention.

4. Beeston's young company, formed before 7th February 1637, was also known as the King's and Queen's players. They played at the Cockpit in May, contrary to the regulations

made on account of the plague, and were for so doing summoned before the Council on the 12th. The names mentioned in the warrant are—(1) Christopher Beeston; (2) William Beeston; (3) Theophilus Bird [or Bourne]; (4) Ezechiel Fenn [or Phen]; (5) Michael Moone [or Mohun]. On 2nd October they opened, at the same time as the other theatres, at the Cockpit, under Christopher Beeston, on whose death or retirement his son [not brother, as Collier guesses] succeeded to the management. On 10th August 1639 an order from the Lord Chamberlain confirmed his company in the right to the following plays, which had belonged to the Queen's men, and in all probability were at this time claimed by such of them as had removed to Salisbury Court. From this decision it appears that property in plays vested not in the majority of the performers, but in their manager or ostensible head; but not for his private gain, only as the representative of those of the company who remained under him. The list is evidently arranged according to the authorship of the plays. It begins with 5 plays by Fletcher, with or without a coadjutor; then follow 5 by Massinger; then 14 by Shirley; 1 by Richard Brome; 5 by Middleton and Rowley; 3 by Ford; 1 by Greene [and Lodge]; 1 by Heywood, for Queen Henrietta's men; 1 by Alexander Brome; 1 by Heywood, for Queen Anne's men; 4 by Davenport; 1 by T. D[rue]; 1 by S. Rowley; 1 by an unknown author; finally, 1 by Webster,—45 in all.

All these had belonged to Queen Henrietta's men. Some had been written for them; the rest had mostly come down to them in two streams, viz., either from Queen Anne's through the Revels men, or else they came directly from the Queen's Revels boys, which joined the Lady Elizabeth's in 1613. A few (Middleton's and S. Rowley's) had come when their authors joined the Lady Elizabeth's in 1623. One (George a Greene) had belonged to the Sussex' men in 1593; thence it probably passed to Pembroke's (with Titus Andronicus in 1594), then to Worcester's and Queen Anne's by regular course, &c., through the Revels men. It was this table that enabled me to give for the first time in *Englische Studien* a solution of the problem (till then supposed insoluble) of the chronology of Fletcher's plays.

Plays.	Dates of Production.	Authors.
Wit without money	c. 1614	Fletcher for L. Eliz. men.
Nightwalkers	c. 1614, reformed 1633	Fletcher: Shirley.
Knight of the Burning Pestle	c. 1610	Beaumont and Fletcher.
Father's own son [M. Thomas]	c. 1609	Fletcher for Revels boys.
Cupid's Revenge	c. 1610	Beaumont: Fletcher: Field.
Bondman	1623, Dec. 3	These 5 plays by Massinger were written for the L. Elizabeth's men before 1626. The Parliament of Love is not mentioned.
Renegado	1624, Apr. 17	
New way to pay old debts	c. 1625	
Great Duke of Florence	1627, July 5	
Maid of Honor	c. 1625	
Traitor	1631, May 4	
Example	1634, June 24	These 14 plays by Shirley were all written for Queen Henrietta's players, for whom he wrote 6 others not enumerated here. One (Chabot) was founded on Chapman, and one (Love Tricks) had been played by the Lady Elizabeth's men.
Young Admiral	1633, July 3	
Opportunity	1634, Nov. 29	
Witty Fair One	1628, Oct. 3	
Love's Cruelty	1631, Nov. 14	
Wedding	1626, May 31	
Maid's Revenge	1626, Feb. 9	
Lady of Pleasure	1635, Oct. 15	
School of Complement [Love Tricks]	1625, Feb. 10	
Grateful Servant	1629, Nov. 3	
Coronation	1635, Feb. 6	
Hyde Park	1632, Apr. 20	
Philip Chabot, Admiral of France	1635, Apr. 29	
Mad Couple well met	c. 1636.	Rich. Brome.
All's lost by Lust	?	5 plays by Middleton and W. Rowley written for Prince Charles' men or for Lady Elizabeth's men.
Changeling	1621	
Fair Quarrel	1617	
Spanish Gypsy	1621	
The World [tost at Tennis]	1620	
Sun's Darling [from Dekker's Phaeton]	1624, Mar. 3	3 plays by Ford for the Cockpit. Warbeck and The Fancies not mentioned.
Love's Sacrifice	c. 1630	
'Tis pity she's a Whore	c. 1626	
George a Greene	c. 1591	[Greene and Lodge].
Love's Mistress	1634, Nov.	Heywood for Q. Henrietta's.
Cunning Lovers	?	Alex. Brome [for Q. Anne's]
Rape of Lucreece	c. 1608	Heywood for Q. Anne's.
Trick to cheat the Devil	?	4 plays by Davenport for Lady Elizabeth's men or for the Queen's at the Cockpit.
Fool and her Maidenhead soon parted	?	
King John and Matilda	c. 1635	
City Nightcap	1624, Oct. 24	
Bloody Banquet	published 1620	T. D. [Query, Drue].
Cupid's Vagaries	c. 1611	S. Rowley for D. of York's.
Conceited Duke	?	*Not* The Noble Gentleman.
Appius and Virginia	1608–11	Webster [for Q. Anne's men].

The dates, authors, &c., in this list are added by me to the bare list of names in the document in the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

1640. May 3.—In conformity with the entry in Herbert's MS. quoted *infra* (p. 361), a warrant was issued in the King's

name inhibiting W. Bieston, George Estoteville, and the rest of the Cockpit company from playing; and although on May 7 their liberty was restored, it is manifest from Lady Alimony, a play full of allusions to these proceedings of the Master of the Revels and grossly personal towards Davenant, that they again abused their permission. This was too much for Herbert's patience. Beeston was dismissed, and Davenant put in his place. The order of the Lord Chamberlain (Pembroke) to this effect is printed in Collier, ii. 33. From it we learn that the lease of the Cockpit was held by Mrs. Elizabeth Beeston, *alias* Hucheson, who was, I suppose, Christopher Beeston's widow.

Collier's assignment to this date of an undated document rightly placed by Malone in 1660 is only mentioned here to save some kind friend in some literary but illiterate critical journal the trouble of pointing out my neglect of one more mare's nest discovered by that inventive genius. Collier, ii. 33, note.

1654. Feb. 3.—Mucedorus, a play belonging to the King's company, and therefore probably acted by them while travelling, was performed at Witney in Oxfordshire. The performance was interrupted by a serious accident. See a tract called "Tragi-Comedia," published immediately afterwards at Oxford. These men had travelled through and performed at Moore, Stanlake, Southleigh, Cumner, &c.

5. Prince Charles' players, after the plague, reopened 1637, October 2, at the Bull. On 1639, September 29, an order was made at the Court at Whitehall, the King presiding, that the poet, actors, and licenser of a play called The Whore [in grain, an old play licensed to the Palsgrave's company 1624, January 26, and recently] "new vamped," should be exemplarily punished for libelling the Aldermen, the Proctors, and the Government. The following extract is abridged from Collier, ii. 27:—

"*Justice.* I'll have you before the Alderman.

Cane. The Alderman is a base, drunken, sottish knave; I care not for the Alderman, &c.

Another. How now, Sirrah? What Alderman do you speak of?

Cane. I mean Alderman the blacksmith in Holborn.
Another. Was he not a Vintner?
Cane. I know no other."

And in another place:—

"*Cane.* I have a patent for xiid. a piece upon every proctor and proctor's man that is not a knave.
Another. Was there ever known any proctor but he was an errant knave?"

Six months after this, at Easter 1640, this company removed from the Bull (with its Naples silk curtains) to the Fortune, and, as this was the only time when Cane was at the Fortune and Read at the Friars [*i.e.*, Whitefriars; he never acted at Blackfriars], The Stage Players' Complaint, a dialogue between Cane of the Fortune and Reed of the Friars during the time of the plague, must date during the plague of 1640, July 23–October 22, and not in 1625, where Collier, ii. 37, most absurdly places it.

SECTION D.

THEATRES (1637–1642).

AFTER the foregoing discussion of the companies during this period it is easy to arrange a Table of the occupation of the theatres.

GLOBE AND BLKFRS.	SALISBURY COURT.	BULL.	FORTUNE.	COCKPIT.
1637, Oct. 2–1642, King's.	1637, Oct. 2–1642, Queen's.	1637–1640, Easter, Prince's.	1637–1640, Easter, "Outsiders."	1637, Oct. 2–1642, King's and Queen's (Beeston's boys).
		1640, Easter–1642, "Outsiders."	1640, Easter–1642, Prince's.	

HERBERT'S ENTRIES (1637–1642).

[1637. Oct. 2.]—"Mr. [Christopher] Beeston was [had been] commanded to make a company of boys, and began to play at the Cockpit with them the same day." [Although the "Beeston

boys" had played at Court in February while the theatres were shut on account of the plague, this public performance cannot date earlier than the reopening of the theatres on October 2. The extract from the Herbert MS. occurs immediately after that of the reopening. The date of the formation of this new company must be anterior to 1637, February 7, and subsequent to the closing of the "four companies" houses on 1636, May 10. The Revels company, which was one of the four, broke, I think, shortly after this last date, and the new company was meant to fill their vacant theatre; but I have treated of this very difficult question more fully under the head of Companies: I only call attention here to the difficulty.]

[Same date.]—"I disposed of Perkins, Sumner, Sherlock, and Turner to Salisbury Court, and joined them with the best of that company." [These four men were until 1636 Queen's players, and under that name they continued to act after their removal to Salisbury Court. The Cockpit, where they had acted, was now held by the Beeston players.]

1638. April 16.—For the King's players. The Unfortunate Lovers by Davenant was licensed.

1638. April 23.—[For the Queen's men at Salisbury Court.] The Royal Master by Shirley.

1638. June 2.—[For the King's men.] Received of Mr. Lowens for my pains about Mr. Massinger's play of The King and the Subject, £1.

1638. June 5.—"The name of The King and the Subject is altered, and I allowed the play to be acted, the reformations most strictly observed, and not otherwise."

1638. June 4.—"At Greenwich Mr. W. Murray gave me power from the King to allow of the play, and that he would warrant it."

> "Moneys? We'll raise supplies what ways we please;
> And force you to subscribe to blanks, in which
> We'll mulct you as we shall think fit. The Cesars
> In Rome were wise, acknowledging no laws
> But what their swords did ratify, the wives
> And daughters of the senators bowing to
> Their wills as deities," &c.

King Charles read this passage from The King and the Subject at Newmarket, and wrote against it, "This is too insolent and to be changed." It was from a speech of Pedro, King of Spain, to his subjects.

1638. Nov. 17.—For the King's men. The Fair Favorite by Davenant.

1639. Sep. 25.—For the King's men. Alexias or the Chaste Lover [Gallant] by Massinger.

1639. Oct. 30.—For [the Queen's men at] Salisbury Court. The Gentleman of Venice by Shirley.

1639. Nov. 30.—For the King's men. The Spanish Lovers [Distresses] by Davenant.

1640. Jan. 26.—For the King's men. The Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo [or The Prisoner] by Massinger.

1640. [Apr. 12.]—At Easter the Prince's company [who had been acting at the Bull] went to the Fortune, and the Fortune company [Outsiders] to the Bull.

1640. May 4, Monday.—William Beeston [head of the King's and Queen's players at the Cockpit] was committed to the Marshalsey and his company inhibited three days for playing an unlicensed play relating to the King's journey into the North. The King complained of them to Herbert. He kept the book and reallowed the players on May 7, after their petition of submission. [On June 27 William Beeston was replaced by Davenant.]

1640. June 1.—For the King's men at Blackfriars. Rosania [Love's Victory or The Doubtful Heir] by Shirley.

1640. Nov. 10.—For the King's men at Blackfriars. The Imposture by Shirley.

1641. May 26.—For the King's men at Blackfriars. The Politic Father [published in Shirley's works as The Brothers] by Shirley.

1641. [Aug. 2.—The Walks of Islington and Hogsdon by T. Jordan.]

1641. Nov. 25.—For the King's men at Blackfriars. The Cardinal by Shirley.

1642. Apr. 26.—For the King's men at Blackfriars. The Sisters by Shirley.

1642. [June.]—"Received of Mr. Kirke for a new play which I burned for the ribaldry and offense that was in it, £2."

1642. June 8.—"Received of Mr. Kirke for another new play called The Irish Rebellion, £2."

"Here ended my allowance of plays, for the war began in August 1642."

SECTION E.

AUTHORS (1637–1642).

I.—*King's Men at Globe and Blackfriars* (1637–1642).

Shirley	Rosania or Love's Victory or The Doubtful Heir; Imposture; Politic Father [published as The Brothers]; Cardinal; Sisters; Court Secret [not acted].
Massinger	King and Subject [Tyrant]; Alexius or the Chaste Lover; Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo; Taste and Welcome.
Mayne	City Match; [Amorous War].
T. Killigrew . . .	Parson's Wedding.
Habington . . .	Queen of Arragon.
Newcastle, Cavendish Earl of . .	Country Captain [printed as Shirley's by A. H. Bullen, and called Captain Underwit]; Variety.
A. Wilson . . .	Switzer; Corporal; Inconstant Lady.
Suckling	Aglaura; Discontented Colonel or Brennoralt; Goblins; Sad one [not acted].

II.—3 *Queen's* [*Henrietta's*] *at Salisbury Court* (1637–1642).

Broome	Antipodes.
Sharpe	Noble Stranger [but no company named].
Lovelace	Scholar; Soldier [no company named].

III.—"*Outsiders*" *at the Fortune* (1637–1639)

One play known: see J. D., under V.

At the Bull (1640–1642).

No plays known.

IV.—*King's and Queen's at the Cockpit* (1637–1642).

Nabbes	Bride; Unfortunate Mother [not acted].
Marmion	Antiquary.
Glapthorne . . .	Hollander; Argalus and Parthenia; Ladies' Privilege; Wit in a Constable.
Brome	Court Beggar; Jovial Crew or Merry Beggars.
Anon	Lady Alimony [Query, by Nabbes].

V.—3 *Prince's* [*Charles* 2] *at the Bull* (1636–1639).

J. D.	Knave in grain or Jack Cottington [S. R., 1639, June 18, for J. Okes; assigned as "new vampt" to J. Nicholson, 1639, Oct. 22. This last entry slipt out in the printing of my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 348]. This play was acted by the "Outsiders" at the Fortune contemporaneously [for which reason it is placed here] with the following.
Anon	The Whore in grain [an old play of the Palsgrave's company] "new vampt" (see p. 358); The Whisperer or What you please.

At Salisbury Court were acted, by what company is not known, The Twins by Rider [not the same as the Twins' Tragedy by Nichols of 1611, which belonged to the King's men]; The Careless Shepherdess by T. Goffe, before the King and Queen [probably by the Revels company].

SECTION F.

GENERAL STAGE HISTORY (1636–1642).

We have already seen that the theatres were closed 1636, May 10, on account of the plague, reopened for a week only on 1637, February 23, and permanently on October 2. Mr. Collier, ii. 10, assigns to this close period the disorderly conduct and insolence to the Mayor of Canterbury of certain strolling-players [whom he wrongly identifies with the King's men]; but the dates show that they were only travelling during Lent, March 3–April 14, in the customary way, and that this was before the plague broke out. The Mayor wrote complaining of their acting at unseasonable times at night, &c., 1636, March 25, and the Privy Council answered him on March 29, approving of his conduct. I cannot identify the company, but the King's men were then in London.

1637. June 10.—William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, was made Lord Chamberlain in 1617 (fifteenth year of James I.); he died 1630, April 17, and was succeeded by his brother Philip. Before his death the King's players had complained to him that the Stationers' Company had printed their playbooks surreptitiously, to their prejudice, the corruption of the books, and disgrace of the authors. William Herbert accordingly ordered such books to be stayed. Notwithstanding this, certain plays belonging to the King's men and to the young company of the King and Queen had been in 1637 gotten indirectly, and were ready to be printed. Philip Herbert therefore wrote on June 10 to the Stationers' Company desiring them not to allow the printing of them without certificates from Lowin and Taylor for the King's men and from C. Beeston for the young company, or "from such persons as shall from time to time have direction of those companies" (Chalmers' "Apology," p. 513).

This important letter has been often reprinted, but its bearings on the history of the drama have not been noticed. It was in the confusion of plague years that the players' consequent poverty induced them to sell to dishonest printers copies of plays made for prompters' use or special Court performances, which, being thrown aside after their immediate purpose was fulfilled, were appropriated by needy actors and surreptitiously issued. Such years were 1625 and 1637. Abundant instances will be found when I treat of authors in a future volume. It will suffice here to refer to the Play Entries in my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 328, &c.

1638. Mar. 20.—Sir John Astley or Ashley, the Master of the Revels, was still alive, but in ill-health; he died soon after, but I have not been able to find the exact date. He was succeeded by Sir Henry Herbert, whose zeal, so fervent while he was deputy, suddenly cooled. The entries in his Office Book are henceforth very scanty, and from 1638, February, onwards the entries in S. R. for plays cease to have the name of any officer of the Revels appended as their guarantee.

1638. Dec. 13.—Davenant was granted by patent an annuity of £100 "during his majesty's pleasure." [This is only noticed

here to correct Collier's figment that he succeeded Jonson as Poet Laureate. Jonson died 1637, August 6.]

1639. Mar. 26.—Davenant obtained a patent to erect a theatre in St. Dunstan's in the West or in St. Bride's of forty yards square "at the most." On October 2 he by indenture with the King resigned his right, the place being found inconvenient and unfit. The indenture is printed in Collier, ii. 28.

1640. Sep. 11.—A curious "order to suppress the players" of this date is given by Collier, ii. 34, who does not state where he found it. "The Board" order all players and the Keepers of Parish [*sic*] Garden to shut up "for six months." Now the plague bill exceeded forty on July 23, and fell below forty on October 29. If this order be authentic, it must have been by way of punishment for remaining open during this forbidden time; but if so, why are "all players" alluded to? There were no plays licensed from June 1 till the end of the plague close time; but only twelve days after, on November 10, Shirley's Imposture was licensed for the King's men. I suspect this document.

1642. Sep. 2.—The Ordinance of the Lords and Commons was issued that Stage plays should cease on account of the Civil War.

1644 [or 1647. Collier gives both dates, ii. 37, 40].—T. Read [a Queen's player] was seized by the Sheriffs while performing in Beaumont and Fletcher's King and no King [a King's company's play] at Salisbury Court. As Collier does not give an exact reference to his authority for this incident I cannot correct his date, but I think it must have been a performance in 1647 by a scratch company made up of those members of the King's men and Beeston's boys who were in that year co-operating in the publication of the folio Beaumont and Fletcher.

1647. Oct. 22.—A further Ordinance was issued for the better suppression of stage plays, authorising the Mayor, Justices, and Sheriffs to search all play-places and commit the players to prison as rogues.

1648. Jan. 22.—Stage plays being still acted, the Commons ordered an ordinance to be drawn up for dismantling the theatres, and

1648. Jan. 31.—The Lords sent a message to the Commons requiring their concurrence in an ordinance which they had drafted; but the Commons preferring their own document, which was ready to be presented, it was read the first time on 31st January, the second time on February 3, and the third time on February 9. On February 11 it was issued. Its provisions were: 1. That all players were declared rogues within the meaning of 39 Eliz. and 7 Jac. 2. The Mayor, Justices, and Sheriffs were authorised to dismantle all play-places. 3. For the first offence players were to be whipped; for the second, treated as incorrigible rogues. 4. All door money was to be given to the parish poor. 5. Every spectator was to be fined 5s.

1648. Sep. 13.—Captain Betham was made Provost-Marshal. One of his duties was to suppress stage plays.

1648. Dec. 20.—The King's players were seized while performing Rollo at the Red Bull: see p. 354.

This is the last notice of any performance in London before the revival of acting in 1656 under Davenant. It was necessary to trace briefly the career of the King's men up to their final name list; but for the dramatic student the end of this first and greatest period of our stage history dates in August 1642.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDEX LISTS.

INSTEAD of an Index in the ordinary form, which would in this book, if at all complete, be of extravagant bulk and very difficult to use, I now give lists of, 1. The theatres; 2. The companies of players; 3. Their individual component actors; 4. The authors that wrote for them; 5. The early plays, 1559–1583; 6. The publishers of plays as given in the "Stationers' Registers," and also of plays not there found; 7. Plays not entered in the "Stationers' Registers;" 8. Plays produced 1584–1642; 9. Masks, &c., presented at Court; 10. University plays; 11. Latin plays; and finally, 12. Pageants. These are all so arranged by the addition of dates, &c., as to make it easy to refer to the parts of the book where they are mentioned. No such lists have ever before been compiled, and they have a considerable value for reference independent of the other parts of the present work

I.—LIST OF THE THEATRES.

Date.	Theatre.
	1. *Inns turned to Playhouses.*
1568–1583	Bell.
1559–1583	Belle Savage.
1559–1583	Blackfriars.
[1604–1609	Boar's Head ? apocryphal.]
1560–1576	Bull.
1589–1594	Cross Keys.
1574–1576	"Nigh Paul's."
1574–1583	Whitefriars.

LIST OF THE THEATRES—*continued*.

Date.	Theatre.
	2. *Private Houses.*
1597–1642	Blackfriars (Burbadge's).
1615	Blackfriars (Rossiter's).
1617–1642	Cockpit (Phœnix).
1600–1607	Paul's.
1629–1642	Salisbury Court.
1610–1613	Whitefriars.
	3. *Public Houses.*
1576–1623	Curtain.
1600–1642	Fortune.
1599–1642	Globe.
1614–1615	Hope (Paris Garden rebuilt).
1592–1594	Newington Butts.
1609–1642	Red Bull.
1611–1612	Swan.
1576–1597	Theater.

In the next list the abbreviated names in the first column are introduced in order to condense the references in list iii., in which abbreviations are used throughout: ob. after dates in the second column means that the patronage of the company ceased in consequence of the death of the patron.

II.—LIST OF THE COMPANIES.

Short Name.	Date.	Company and Patron.
		1. *Boys.* (*See also under* 3.)
Chap.	1559–1603	Chapel. Suppressed 1583–1592.
Paul.	1559–1607	Paul's. Suppressed 1590–1599.
—	1572–1576	Merchant Tailors.
—	1572–1574	Westminster.
—	1568–1578	Windsor.
		2. *Noblemen's Servants.*
Adm.	1585–1603	Admiral's, L. Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham. See Chamberlain's, Howard's, Nottingham's.
Arun.	1584	Arundel's, L. Philip Howard.
1 Cham.	1574–1577	Chamberlain's, 1. L. Charles Howard. See Admiral's, Howard's, Nottingham's.

LIST OF THE COMPANIES—*continued.*

Short Name.	Date.	Company and Patron.
2 Cham.	1577–1583, ob.	Chamberlain's 2. L. Thomas Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex. See Sussex'.
3 Cham.	1583–1585	— 3. L. Charles Howard. See 1.
4 Cham.	1585–1596, ob.	— 4. Henry Carey, L. Hunsdon. See Hunsdon's.
5 Cham.	1597–1603	— 5. George Carey, L. Hunsdon. See Hunsdon's.
—	Strollers	Chandos'.
Clin.	1573–1575	Clinton's, Edward Fynes, Lord.
1 Der.	1579–1583	Derby's, 1. Henry Stanley, Earl of.
2 Der.	1593–1594, ob.	— 2. Ferdinando Stanley. See Strange's.
3 Der.	1599–1600	— 3. William Stanley.
Ess.	1578	Essex', Robert Devereux, Earl of.
—	1559–1564	Dudley, Lord Robert. See Leicester's.
Hert.	1591–1592	Hertford's, Edward Seymour, Earl of.
C. How.	1577–1583	Howard's, Lord Charles. See Admiral's, Chamberlain's, and Nottingham's.
1 Huns.	1582–1583	Hunsdon's, 1. Henry Carey, L. See Chamberlain's.
2 Huns.	1596–1597	— 2. George Carey, L. See Chamberlain's.
—	1571–1572	Lane's, Sir Robert.
Leic.	1572–1588, ob.	Leicester's, Robert Dudley, Earl of.
—	Strollers.	Lenox', Esme Duke of.
—	1597–1603	Nottingham's, Earl of. See Admiral's, Chamberlain's, Howard's.
Oxf.	1580–1586	Oxford's, Edward de Vere, Earl of.
Pem.	1589–1601, ob.	Pembroke's, Henry Herbert, Earl of.
Rich.	1567–1570	Rich's, Robert, Lord Baron.
Str.	1589–1593	Strange's, Ferdinando Stanley, L. See Derby's.
1 Sus.	1576–1583, ob.	Sussex', 1. Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of. See Chamberlain's.
2 Sus.	1591–1593, ob.	— 2. Henry Radcliffe.
War.	1564–1580	Warwick's, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of.
Worc.	1602–1603	Worcester's, Edward Somerset, Earl of.
		3. *Under Royal Patronage.*
K. J.	1603–1625	1 King's. James.
K. C.	1625–1642	2 King's. Charles.
1 K. R.	1607–1609	1 King's Revels. James. Boys.
2 K. R.	1629–1636	2 King's Revels. Charles. Men.
Pals.	1613–1625	Palsgrave's: Elector Palatine's.
P. H.	1603–1612	1 Prince's. Henry's.
1 P. C.	1613–1625	2 Prince's. Charles': afterwards Charles 1.
2 P. C.	1632–1642	3 Prince's. Charles': afterwards Charles 2.
1 L. E.	1611–1613	1 Princess Elizabeth's.
2 L. E.	1613–1625	2 Princess Elizabeth's (Queen of Bohemia's).
Q. E.	1583–1592	1 Queen's. Elizabeth's.
Q. A.	1603–1618	2 Queen's. Anne's.
Q. H.	1625–1642	3 Queen's. Henrietta's.
1 Q. R.	1604–1609	1 Queen's Revels. Boys.
2 Q. R.	1610–1613	2 Queen's Revels. Boys.
R. C.	1619–1623	Revels Company, late Queen Anne's. Men.
K. Q.	1637–1642	King's and Queen's. Beeston's Boys.
D. Y.	1610–1612	York's, Charles Duke of. See 2 Prince's.

The next list contains the actors. Mr. Collier stated that he possessed a list of some 500 actors' names. My list reaches nothing like this number, but it more than doubles all that Collier ever published, and I cannot find that any such list as he mentions ever has been seen by any one, or that any list at all was found among his papers. Perhaps he only meant to concoct one out of such documents as the forged Blackfriars petition.

III.—LIST OF ACTORS (INCLUDING A FEW MANAGERS), 1559–1642.

Actor.	His Career.
Adkinson, William	K. J. 1611 (King and no King).
Alleyn, Edward	Worc. 1587–9; Str. 1589–93; Adm. 1594–7; left acting 1597; b. 1566, Sep. 1; d. 1626, Nov. 25.
Alleyn, John	Adm. 1589, Dec. 4 (Alleyn papers).
Alleyn, Richard	1593, H. D. p. 5; Adm., 1597; Q. R. 1610–12.
Alleyn, William	L. E. 1624; Q. H. 1625–37.
Andrews, Richard	Worc. 1586.
Armin, Robert	Chandos' before 1599; Cham. 1599-1603; K. J. 1603–10; K. R. c. 1608.
Ashton	King's 1625–6 (Love's Pilgrimage).
Attewell, George	1596, H. D. p. 8.
Attawel, Hugh	Q. R. 1610–12; P. C. 1614–18.
Axen, Robert	Q. H. c. 1631–5.
Bacon, John	King's 1625–6 (Love's Pilgrimage).
Baker, Harry	[Chap.] 1592 (Summer's last Will).
Balls	K. C. 1631.
Barksted, William	Q. R. 1610; L. E. 1611–13; P. C. 1616. [*N. B.*, of "His Majesty's Revels," 1611; see "Hiren," title-page.]
Barne, little Will	[Pem.] 1597.
Barret, John	K. R. c. 1632–6.
Basse, Thomas	L. E. 1611–13; Q. A. 1619; R. C. 1622.
Baxter, Richard	K. C. 1628–36.
Baxter, Robert	Chap. 1600; R. Bax. in Mad Lover; K. J. 1618.
Beeston, Christopher	(Hutchinson), Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–8; Worc. 1602–3; Q. A., 1603–19; L. E. 1622–5; Q. H. 1625–37; K. Q. 1637–9.
Beeston, Robert	Q. A. 1603–9.
Beeston, William	manager K. Q. 1639; player Q. H. 1637; K. Q. 1637–9.
Belt, T.	Str. 1592.
Benfield, Robert	Q. R. c. 1612; L. E. 1613; K. J. c. 1616–42.
Bentley	Q. E. before Heywood's time.
Birch, George	(Burght, Burt). K. J. c. 1620–25; K. C. 1625; Q. H. c. 1637–42. Shank's boy. Clariana in Love's Cruelty.
Bird, Theophilus	See Bourne.

Actor.	His Career.
Bird, William	(Bourne). Adm. 1597–1603; P. H. 1603–12; Pals. 1613–18.
Blackwage, William	Cham. man (Query actor) 1594.
Blackwood, Thomas	Worc. 1602–3.
Blaney, John	Q. R. 1610; Q. A. 1619; R. C. 1622; L. E. 1623–4.
Bond, Thomas	P. C. 1631.
Bourne, Theophilus	(Bird). L. E. 1624; Q. H. 1625–37; d. after 1647.
Bowyer, Michael	L. E. 1624; Q. H. 1625–37.
Browne, Edward	Worc. 1586; [Adm.] 1600, H. D. p. 73.
Browne, Robert	Worc. 1586; Der. 1600; patentee, Q. R. 1610.
Browne, William	P. C. 1631.
Bryan, George	Leic., abroad 1586–7; Str. 1589–96.
Bucke, Paul	[Q. E.]. 3 Ladies of London, 1584, 1592.
Burbadge, James	Leic. 1574–83; Q. E. 1584–91.
Burbadge, Richard	[Q. E. boy 1584–91]. Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–19; d. 1619, Mar.
Cane, Andrew	(Keyne). L. E. 1622; Pals. 1622; P. C. 1631.
Carpenter, William	L. E. 1611.
Cartwright, William	[Pem. 1597]; Pals. 1613–18; K. R. c. 1632–6; Q. H. c. 1637–42.
Cary	Q. R. 1610; P. E. 1611–12.
Cattarnes	(Katherines). Worc. 1602.
Chappell, John	Chap. c. 1600.
Clark, Sill.	Adm. 1600 (Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green).
Clarke, Hugh	Q. H. 1627–36; K. C. c. 1640 (Custom of the Country); d. after 1647.
Clifton, Thomas	Chap. c. 1600.
Clun	(Boy). K. C.
Colbrand, Edward	P. H. 1603–13.
Cole, John	Paul's c. 1600 (Antonio and Mellida).
Condell, Henry	Str. (boy) 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–19; d. 1627, Dec.
Cooke, Sander	Str. (boy) 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–13; d. 1613, Feb.
Cooke, Thomas	Worc. 1586.
Cowley, Richard	Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–18; d. 1618, Mar.
Crosse, Samuel	Cham. before Heywood's time.
Cumber, John	Q. A. 1619; R. C. 1622; d. 1623.
Daborne, Robert	patentee Q. R. 1610.
Daniel, Samuel	examiner Q. R. 1604–5.
Davies, Hugh	1593 H. D. p. 5.
Dawes, Robert	D. Y. 1610–12; P. C. 1614.
Day, Thomas	Chap. 1600–1.
Denyghten	[Pem. 1597]; but query = Dutton.
Dobson, John	Q. H. 1627.
Drew, Thomas	Q. A. 1619.
Duke, John	Str. 1592; Cham. 1598; [Pem.] 1600, Sep.; Worc. 1602–3; Q. A. 1603–4.
Dunstan, James	(Tunstall). Worc. 1586; Adm. 1590 (Alleyn papers), 1594–7.

Actor.	His Career.
Dutton, John	War. 1573–80; Q. E. 1583–91.
Dutton, Laurence	Lane. 1571–2; War. 1573–80; Q. E. 1583–91.
Dutton, Thomas	Adm. 1594–1603; P. H. 1603–12; Pals. 1613.
Eccleston, William	K. J. 1610–11; L. E. 1611–13; K. J. 1616–23.
Edmonds, John	Q. A. 1619.
Estoteville, George	K. and Q. 1640.
Evans, Henry	manager. Chap. 1597–1603; Q. R. 1604–5.
Fenn, Ezekiel	Q. H. c. 1631–5.
Ferney, William	Cham. man; Query actor, 1594.
Field, Nathaniel	Chap. 1600–1; Q. R. 1610–12; L. E. 1613–14; K. J. 1616–18; b. 1587, Oct.; d. 1633, Feb.
Fletcher, Laurence	[Cham. 1601]; K. J. 1603–5.
Foster, Alexander	L. E. 1611–13.
Fouch, Richard	P. C. 1631.
Fowler, Richard	(Flower); Pals. 1618–22; P. C. 1631.
Frost, John	Chap. 1600.
Garland, John	Lennox', 1604; D. Y. 1610.
Garrett, John	Q. A. 1619.
Gascoigne	K. C. 1631.
Gibbs	[Pem.] 1597.
Gilburne, Samuel	[Str. (boy), 1592]; Philipps' apprentice; [Cham. 1594–1603]; K. J. 1605.
Goad, Christopher	(Goat). Q. H. c. 1631; K. R. c. 1632–6.
Godwin, Richard	P. C. 1631.
Goodall, T.	Str. 1592.
Gough, Alexander	K. C. 1626–36; b. 1614, Aug.; son of R. Gough.
Gough, Robert	Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–24; d. 1625, Feb.
Grace, Francis	P. H. 1603–13; Pals. 1613–22.
Gradwell, Henry	P. C. 1631.
Greene, Robert	Q. E. 1587–92. See Parson.
Greene, Thomas	Q. A. 1603–13; d. 1612.
Gregory, Jack	[Pem.] 1597.
Greville, Curtis	L. E. 1622; Pals. 1622; K. C. 1626–31.
Griffin	Adm. 1597.
Grimes, Thomas	Chap. c. 1600.
Guilman, Robert	L. E. 1628 patent.
Gunnell, Richard	Pals. 1613–22.
Hall, William	K. R. c. 1632–6.
Hamerton, Stephen	K. C. acted Amintor in Maid's Tragedy; d. after 1647.
Hamlet, Robert	(Hanten). Q. R. 1605; L. E. 1611; P. C. 1616–25.
Harrison, William	Worc. 1586.
Hart, William	K. C. 1636; Robinson's boy.
Hatfield	Q. H. c. 1635.
Hawkins, Alexander	manager Q. R., 1604.
Hawley, Richard	K. C. 1636.
Hawood, Thomas	(Heywood). Adm. 159[5]–9; Der. 1600; Worc. 1602–3; Q. A. 1603–19; L. E. 1622–5; Q. H. 1625–34; K. C. 1634.
Hemings, John	Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1604–30; d. 1630, Oct.

Actor.	His Career.
Henslow, Francis . . .	Q. E. 1593; 1596, H. D. p. 8; Lennox', 1604.
Herbert	K. C. 1631.
Herne, Philip	H. D. p. 92. 1597–9, m. G. Bryan's daughter.
Hobbes, Thomas . . .	D. Y. 1610–12; P. C. 1613–25; K. C. 1625–36.
Holland, John	Str. 1592.
Holcombe, Thomas . .	K. J. 1617–23.
Holt, James	Q. A. 1603–19.
Honyman, John . . .	K. C. 1626–31; (Shank's boy).
Hoope, Richard . . .	Cham. man; Query actor, 1594.
Horne, James	K. J. 1621–5; K. C. 1625–9.
Horton, Edward . . .	K. J. 1618; Deserving Favorite, pub. 1629, K. C.
Hunt, Thomas	Adm. 1597; L. E. 1611.
Huntley, Dick	[Chap.] 1592 (Summer's last Will).
Hutchinson, Christopher	See Beeston.
Huyt, Robert	(White). P. C. 1631.
Jackson	Q. H. c. 1631.
Jeffes, Antony	[Pem. 1594–7]; Adm. 1597–1603; P. H. 1603–7.
Jeffes, Humphrey . . .	[Pem. 1594–7]; Adm. 1597–1603; P. H. 1603–12; Pals. 1613.
Johnson, Richard . . .	K. R. c. 1632–6.
Johnson, William . . .	Leic. 1574.
Jones, Richard	Worc. 1586; Adm. 1594–1601; patentee Q. R. 1610.
Jones, Robert	patentee 1615.
Jordan, Thomas . . .	K. R. c. 1632–6.
Juby, Dick	[Pem. 1597]; perhaps Adm.
Juby, Edward	Adm. 1594–1603; P. H. 1603–12; Pals. 1613–18.
Kempe, William[1] . . .	Leic. abroad 1586–7; Str. 1589–93; Cham. 1594–98; abroad 1601; Worc. 1602–3; Q. R. 1605.
Kendall, Thomas . . .	manager Q. R. 1604.
Keyne, Andrew . . .	See Cane.
King, Thomas	Leic. abroad 1586–7.
Kingman, Philip . . .	patentee 1615.
Kirkham, Edward . . .	manager Q. R. 1604; Paul's 1606.
Knell	Before Heywood's time.
Lanham, John	Leic. 1574–83; Q. E. 1583–92, before Heywood's time.
Leadbeater, Robert . .	Adm. 1597.
Lee, Robert	Q. A. 1603–19; R. C. 1619–22.
Lowin, G.	K. J. 1619, boy in Barnaveldt.
Lowin, John.	Worc. 1602–3; K. J. 1603–25; K. C. 1625–42; b. 1576, Dec.; d. 1659, Mar. Malone: 1669, Mar. Collier (rightly).
Mago, W	K. C. 1631.
Mannery, Samuel . . .	P. C. 1631.

[1] An anonymous critic in a review of my "Life of Shakespeare" in the *Athenæum*, 1886, June 19, accused me of confusing W. Kempe the actor with another Kempe. The mistake was the critic's. W. Kempe did write against Martin Marprelate (probably in his jigs, now lost), as may be seen by reference to Theses Martinianæ, 1589, July 22. Two parts of his jigs appeared before 1591, December 28, S. R. One of these was probably the writing to which I had alluded. The whole review was as spiteful as it was inaccurate.

Actor.	His Career.
Martin, Thomas	Chap. 1601.
Marbeck, Thomas	[Pem. 1597].
Massey, Charles	Adm. 1597–1603; P. H. 1603–13; Pals. 1613–22.
May, Edward	P. C. 1631.
Monday, Antony	Oxford's (boy) 1576; player 1580.
Moone, Michael	(Mohun) Q. H. 1637; K. Q. 1637–42. Bellamente in Love's Cruelty.
Moore, Joseph	L. E. 1611, 1622, 1628 patent; P. C. 1634–40.
Morris, Mathias	K. R. c. 1632–6.
Motteram, John	Chap. c. 1600.
Newton, John	D. Y. 1610–12; P. C. 1613–25.
Nicolls, Robert	1596, H. D. p. 8.
Norwood	Paul's c. 1600 (Antonio and Mellida).
Ostler, William	Chap. 1601; K. J. 1610–c. 1616.
Page, John	Q. H. 1627–35.
Pallant, Robert	Str. 1592; Alleyn's tenant 1597–1604; Q. A. 1603–9; K. J. c. 1612; P. C. 1614–16; Q. A. 1619.
Parr, William	[Pem. 1597–1603]; P. H. 1603–12; Pals. 1613–18.
Parson, Robert [? Greene]	Leic. abroad 1586–7.
Parsons, Thomas	[Pem. 1597]; and another Parsons.
Patrick, William	K. C. 1636.
Pavy, Salathiel	Chap. 1600–1.
Payne, Robert	manager Q. R. 1604.
Peele, George	Adm. 1587; Q. E. 1587–9; [Str. 1590; Adm. 1594–7].
Penn, William	Q. R. 1610; P. C. 1616–25; K. C. 1626–31.
Pennycuicke, Andrew	Q. H. c. 1631–2; acted Matilda in John and Matilda; published City Madam.
Perkyn, John	Leic. 1574.
Perkins, Richard	Worc. 1602–3; Q. A. 1603–19; R. C. 1619–23; K. J. 1623–5; Q. H. 1626–37.
Phillipps, Augustine	Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–5; d. 1605, May.
Pig	Adm. 1597.
Pollard, Thomas	K. J. 1617–25; K. C. 1625–42.
Pope, Thomas	Leic. abroad 1586–7; Str. 1589–93; Cham. 1594–1603; d. 1603–4.
Poulton, Thomas	Worc. 1586.
Price, Richard	(Pryor) Adm. 1599–1603; P. H. 1603–12; Pals. 1613–22.
Raye, Ralph	Cham. man (Query actor) 1594.
Read, Emanuel	L. E. 1612–13.
Read, Timothy	Q. H. 1627; K. C. n. d., but probably 1636.
Reason, Gilbert	D. Y. 1610–12; P. C. 1613–25.
Reeve, Ralph	patentee 1615.
Reignalds, William	L. E. 1624.
Rice, John[1]	L. E. 1611; K. J. c. 1620–25; K. C. 1625.
Robinson, John	K. R. c. 1632–6; d. 1641, Apr.

[1] It appears from a note by Mr. Halliwell, published in the *Athenæum*, 1888, May 19, that Rice and Burbadge "rode the fishes" on the Thursday preceding 5th June 1610, *i.e.*, on May 31. This must have been in the first part of Prince Henry's creation, acted on that day when he came from Richmond by water (Nichols, ii. 358).

Actor.	His Career.
Robinson, Richard	K. J. 1611–25; K. C. 1625–42; d. 1648, Mar.
Robins[on], William	Q. A. 1619; R. C. 1622; L. E. 1623–5; Q. H. 1625–7; d. 1645, Oct.
Rogers, Edward.	L. E. 1624; Q. H. 1625–7.
Rossiter, Philip.	manager Q. R. 1610–12; patentee Q. R. 1610, 1615.
Rowley, Samuel	Adm. 1597–1603; P. H. 1603–13; Pals. 1613–24.
Rowley, Thomas	[Pem. 1597] perhaps Adm.
Rowley, William	Q. A. 1607; D. Y. 1610; P. C. 1613–21; L. E. 1621–3; K. J. 1623–5; P. C. 1625; b. c. 1585; d. after 1637.
Sanderson, Gregory	Q. A. 1611.
Sandes, James	Phillipps' apprentice, K. J. 1605.
Savery, Abraham	Lennox' 1604.
Savile, Arthur	P. C. 1631.
Shakerley, Ed[ward]	L. E. 1624.
Shakespeare, Edmond	[K. J.] d. 1607, Aug.
Shakespeare, Edward	[K. J.] 1607. Query, same as Edmond S.
Shakespeare, William	[Leic. 1587–9; Str. 1589–]93; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–10; b. 1564, Apr.; d. 1616, Apr.
Shank, John[1]	P. H. 1603–12; Pals. 1613–c. 1616; K. J. c. 1616–25; K. C. 1625–36; d. 1636, Jan.
Shank, ——	1642.
Sharp, Richard	K. J. 1618–25; K. C. 1625–9.
Shaw, Robert	[Pem. 1594–7]; Adm. 1597–1600.
Sheldon	H. D. 1594.

[1] In a ballad in "Turner's Dish of Stuff or a Gallimaufry," by W. Turner, published in 1662, are found the following lines:—

"That's the fat fool of the Curtain
And the lean fool of the Bull:
Since Shank did leave to sing his rhymes,
He is counted but a gull.
The players on the Bankside,
The round Globe and the Swan,
Will teach you idle tricks of love,
But the Bull will play the man."

This must date in 1611–12, when the Swan was open. The "lean fool" is Thomas Greene, the Queen Anne's player at the Bull. The "fat fool" is William Rowley, the player in Prince Henry's company at the Curtain who acted Plum Porridge in the Inner Temple Mask, and in it "moved like one of the great porridge tubs going to the Counter." Shank's rhymes were acted as "Shank's Ordinary" after he moved to the King's company, c. 1623, and the lines in Collier, iii. 484, are probably an extract therefrom. This ballad shows that the *public* theatres in 1612 were—1. The Curtain (Prince Henry's); 2. The Bull (Queen Anne's); 3. The Globe (King James'); 4. The Swan (Princess Elizabeth's). Shank's ceasing to sing was probably caused by the death of Prince Henry in November 1612, and the consequent temporary closing of the Curtain before the company was taken over by the Palsgrave. The exact date of the ballad would be at Christmas 1612. This matter should have been incorporated in the stage history of that date, p. 251, but when that was printed I had not succeeded in identifying the fat and lean fools, with whom compare the fools in Armin's Fool upon Fool, 1605 (or 2nd edition, called Nest of Ninnies, 1608).

Actor.	His Career.
Sherlock, William	L. E. 1622–5; Q. H. 1625–37.
Simcox	Lennox' 1604.
Singer, John	Q. E., Adm. 1594–1602.
Sinkler, John	Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1604.
Slaughter, Martin	(Slater). Adm. 1594–7; Q. A. 1619.
Slaughter, William	Q. E.
Sly, William	Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1604–8; d. 1608, Aug.
Smith, Antony	P. C. 1614–25; K. C. 1626–9.
Smith, John	Q. R. 1610; perhaps a mistake for Antony.
Smith, Matthew	P. C. 1631.
Smith, William	1596, H. D. p. 8.
Sneller, James	P. C. 1631.
Spenser, Gabriel	[Pem. 1594–7]; Adm. 1597–8.
Stafford, Robert	P. C. 1631.
Stevens, Thomas	Leic. abroad 1586–7.
Stratford, William	P. H. 1603–13; Pals. 1618.
Sumpner, John	L. E. 1624; Q. H. 1625–37.
Swanston, Hiliard (Elyard)	L. E. 1622; K. J. 1624–5; K. C. 1625–42.
Swinnerton, Thomas	Q. A. 1603–19.
Tarbook	patentee Q. R. 1610.
Tarleton, Richard	Curtain—1583; Q. E. 1583–8; d. 1588, Sep.
Tawyer, W.	Str. 1592; Cham. c. 1595 (Heming's apprentice).
Taylor, Joseph	D. Y. 1610; L. E. 1611; Q. R. c. 1612; L. E. 1613; P. C. 1614–18; K. J. 1619–25; K. C. 1625–42; b. 1585, Feb.; d. 1653.
T. , R.	(?) K. J. 1619, actor in Barnaveldt.
—— Michael	K. J. 1619, actor in Barnaveldt.
Taylor, Thomas	1624–5, "a player;" Register of St. Giles, Cripplegate.
Thayer, John	Worc. 1602–3.
Thomson, John	K. J. 1621–5; K. C. 1625–9; (Shank's boy).
Tomson, Samuel	K. R. c. 1632–6.
Tooley, Nicholas	(Wilkinson). Str. 1592; Cham. 1594–1603; K. J. 1603–23; d. 1623, June.
Towne, John	1593; H. D. p. 5.
Towne, Thomas	Adm. 1594–1603; R. H. 1603–7.
Townsend, John	L. E. 1611;
Townsend, Joseph	L. E. 1628 patent. Query John.
Toy, Robert	[Chap.] 1592 (Summer's last Will).
Trigg, William	K. C. 1626–36.
Trussell, Alvery	Chap. c. 1600.
Tucke, T.	King's 1625 (Two noble Kinsmen).
Turner, Antony	L. E. 1622–5; Q. H. 1625–37.
Turner, Henry	manager Q. H. 1637.
Underwood, John	Chap. 1600–1; K. J. 1610–24; d. 1624, Oct.
Vernon, George	K. J. 1625; K. C. 1625–9.
Wilbraham, William	Q. H. 1627–31.
Wilkinson, Nicholas	See Tooley.
Wilson, Harry	Musician; K. C. 1631.
Wilson, Robert	Leic. 1574–83; Q. E. 1583–8; before Heywood's time.
Wintershal	Q. H. c. 1637–42.

Actor.	His Career.
Worth, Ellis	Q. A. 1619; R. C. 1619–22; L. E. 1623; P. C. 1631.
Wright, John	P. C. 1631.
Young, John	Q. H. 1627–37.
—— Andrew	Cham. c. 1598 (Much Ado about Nothing).
—— George	[Pem. 1597].
—— Gideon	[Pem. 1597].
—— James	[Pem. 1597].
—— Ned	[Chap.] 1592 (Summer's last Will).
—— Nick	K. C. 1631.
—— Kester	[Pem. 1597].
—— Rowland	Q. R. c. 1612, Coxcomb; K. C. 1625–6 (Chances, Love's Pilgrimage (altered), Roman Actor) [Query = W. Rowley].
—— Vincent	Str. 1592.
Denyghten's little boy	[Pem. 1597]; but query same as Dutton's boy.
E. Dutton's boy Dick	Adm. 1597.
Giles's boy	[Pem. 1597].
The red-faced fellow	[Pem. 1597].

IV.—LIST OF AUTHORS, 1559–1642.

Date of Writing.	Author.	Date of Writing.	Author.
1632	Alabaster, William (Latin)	1597–1602	Chettle, Henry
1603–1605	Alexander, William, Earl of Stirling	1639	Cokain, Sir Aston (Mask)
c. 1608	Armin, Robert	c. 1612	Cooke, John
c. 1612	Atkinson, Thomas (Latin)	1638–1641	Cowley, Abraham
1613	Bacon, Sir Francis (Mask)	1611–1614	Daborne, Robert
1538–1563	Bale, Bishop John	1594–1613	Daniel, Samuel
c. 1638	Barclay, Sir William	1626–1642+	Davenant, Sir William
c. 1613	Barkstead (Baxter), William	1624–1636	Davenport, Robert
1606–1624	Barnes, Barnaby	1600–1623	Day, John
1609	Barrey, Lodowick	1587–1624	Dekker, Thomas
1607–1613	Beaumont, Francis	1641	Denham, Sir John
1618	Belchier, Dabridgecourt	1597–1602	Drayton, Michael
1623	Bonen, William	1624	Drue, Thomas
1601	Bourne (Bird), William	Eliz.	Edes, Dr. (University)
1600	Boyle, William	1566	Edwards, Richard
Charles I	Brewer, Antony	c. 1560, 1592	Ferrers, Edward (Play and Mask)
c. 1635	Brome, Alexander	1610–1619	Field, Nathaniel
1623–1641	Brome, Richard	c. 1626	Fisher, Jasper
c. 1620	Browne, William (Mask)	1608–1625	Fletcher, John
1612–1615	Brookes, —— (Latin)	1615	Fletcher, Phineas (University)
c. 1639	Burnell, Henry (Dublin)	1622–1638	Ford, John
Charles I	Burroughes, ——	1637	Formido, Sir Cornelius
1607–1614	Campion, Thomas (Masks)	c. 1568	Fulwell, Ulpian
c. 1613	Carew (Cary), Lady Elizabeth	1592	Gager, William (Latin)
1634	Carew, Thomas (Mask)	c. 1578	Garter, Thomas
1627–1636	Carlell, Lodovick	1566–1575	Gascoigne, George
1632–1637	Cartwright, William	1634–1640	Glapthorne, Henry
1636–1642	Cavendish, William, Duke of Newcastle	c. 1621–1623	Goffe, Thomas
		?	Goldingham, William (Latin)
1636	Cayworth, John (Mask)	c. 1632	Gomersal, Robert
c. 1640	Chamberlain, Robert	c. 1579	Gosson, Stephen
1596–1610	Chapman, George	c. 1640	Gough, J.

Date of Writing.	Author.
1587–1592	Greene, Robert
c. 1609	Greville, Fulk, Lord Brooke
1623–1624	Gunnell, ——
1603–1607	Gwinne, Matthew (Latin)
c. 1640	Habington, William
c. 1640	Harding, Samuel
1598–1602	Hathaway, Richard
1598–1602	Haughton, William
1631	Hausted, Peter (University, and Latin).
1627	Hawkins, William (private)
c. 1633	Hemings, William
1594–1636	Heywood, Thomas
1610	Holyday, Barton (University)
1587	Hughes, Thomas (Inn of Court)
1565	Ingeland, Thomas
c. 1640	Jaques, Francis
1597–1636	Jonson, Benjamin
1623	Jonson, Benjamin, junior
1635	Jones, John (not acted)
1605–1641	Jones, Inigo (scene-maker)
1641	Jordan, Thomas
1592	Kempe, William
c. 1630	Killigrew, Henry
1637–1641	Killigrew, Thomas
1566	Kinwelmarsh, Francis
1638–1641	Kirke, John
1631	Knevett, Ralph (private)
1587–1594	Kyd, Thomas
Charles I	Kynder, Philip (Latin)
1579, 1592	Legge, Thomas (University, and Latin)
1582–1589	Lilly, John
1587–1600	Lodge, Thomas
c. 1639	Lovelace, Richard
1637–1642	Lower, Sir William
c. 1578	Lupton, Thomas
1631	Mabbe, James
1607	Machin, Lewis
c. 1638	Maine, Jasper
1607, [1622]	Markham, Gervase
1587–1593	Marlow, Christopher
1631–1636	Marmion, Shakerley
1599–1605	Marston, John
c. 1608	Mason, John
1613–1640	Massinger, Philip
1620–1640	May, Thomas
c. 1634	Meade, Robert (University)
1596–1628	Middleton, Thomas
1634	Milton, John [Mask]
1629	Montagu, Walter
1581–1616	Munday, Antony
1631–1641	Nabbes, Thomas
1591–1597?	Nash, Thomas
1637	Neale, Thomas
1562	Norton, Thomas
1580–1597?	Peele, George
1601–1602	Percy, William
1631	Pestel, Thomas (Latin)
1600	Pett
1598–1599	Porter, Henry
1564	Preston, Thomas (English and Latin)
before 1589	Puttenham, George
1629–1634	Randolph, Thomas
1601	Rankin, William
1640	Rawlins, Thomas
1640	Richards, Nathaniel
1560	Richards, Thomas
1613	Rider, William
1564	Rightwise, John (Latin)
1601–1623	Rowley (Rowlands), Samuel
1607–1627	Rowley, William
1614	Ruggle, George (Latin)
1634–1640	Rutter, Joseph
1562	Sackville, Thomas, Lord Buckhurst
1640	Sadler, J. (University)
1622–1636?	Sampson, William
1604	Saville, John (Mask)
1589–1611	Shakespeare, William
1624	Shank, John
c. 1640	Sharpe, Lewis
1609	Sharpham, Edward
c. 1612	Shirley, Henry
1625–1642	Shirley, James
1578	Sidney, Sir Philip (Mask)
1602	Singer, John
1601–1602	Smith, Wentworth
1613–1623	Smith, William
1636	Speed, John (University)
1620	Squire, John (Pageant)
c. 1613	Stephens, John
1563	Still, John
c. 1628	Strode, William
1637–1641	Suckling, Sir John
1613	Tailor, Robert
1584	Tarleton, Richard
c. 1640	Tatham, J.
1634	Taylor, John (Pageant)
1614	Tomkis, —— (University)
? 1605–1613	Tourneur, Cyril
1632	Townsend, Aurelian (Masks)
1560, 1564	Udal, Nicholas
Eliz.	Vere, de, Earl of Oxford
1601	Wadeson, Antony
1567	Wager, Lewis
1571	Wager, William
1576	Wapul, George
c. 1579	Watson, John (Latin)
1602–1612	Webster, John
1578	Whetstone, George
1617	White, Robert (Mask)
1636	Wilde, George (English and Latin)
1603–1607	Wilkins, George
1563	Wilmot, Robert
c. 1639	Wilson, Arthur
c. 1577–1590	Wilson, Robert
1598–1600	Wilson, Robert, junior
1581	Woodes, Nath. (not acted)
c. 1600	Yarrington, Robert
1638	Zouch, Dr. (University)

The division between plays after 1583, when our public drama really commenced on the establishment of the Queen's company, and the interludes and University plays before 1583, which were written entirely with a view to Court performance, is so sharp that I have thought fit to separate the Index lists. All the plays in the present list will be found in Chapter I.; those in the other list (viii.) are many of them not even mentioned in the preceding chapters, not having any special bearing on stage history. The letter E in the third column means "Extant." All matter within square brackets is, as usual, more or less conjectural.

V.—LIST OF PLAYS, 1559–1583.

Date.	Company.		Name of Play.
1572	Windsor		Ajax and Ulysses.
c. 1560	—	E.	Albion Knight.
1573	Paul's		Alcmeon.
[1581]	Chapel	E.	Alexander Campaspe and Diogenes (by Lyly).
1578	—	E.	All for money (by Lupton).
1579	Chapel		Alucius.
[1563–4]	[Westminster]	E.	Appius and Virginia (by R. B.).
1582	Merchant Taylors'		Ariodante and Genevra.
1581	Chapel	E.	Arraignment of Paris (by Peele).
1568	—		As plain as can be.
1582	Hunsdon s	E.	Beauty and Huswifery; [Calisto and Melibœa, or Beauty and Good Properties of Women].
c. 1579	cf. Gosson		Blacksmith's daughter.
c. 1579	cf. Gosson		Cesar and Pompey.
[1570]	[Chapel]	E.	Cambyses (by Preston).
—	—		Campaspe. See Alexander.
1580	cf. Gosson		Captain Mario.
c. 1579	cf. Gosson		Catiline's Conspiracies.
1577	Sussex'		Cenofalles.
1572	Lane's		Cloridon and Radiamantha.
c. 1576	—	E.	Clyomon and Clamydes [by Wilson].
1568	—	E.	College of Canonical Clerks.
1576	Leicester's		Collier.
[1572–3]	[Leicester's]	E.	Common Conditions [by Wilson].
1581	private	E.	Conflict of Conscience (by Woodes).
c. 1580	at Gloucester		Cradle of Security.
—	—		Craft upon Subtilty's back.
1566	—	E.	Cruel Debtor (by W. Wager).
1578	Sussex'		Cruelty of a Stepmother.
—	Paul's (Gosson)		Cupid and Psyche.
1577	[Warwick's]		Cutwell.
[1563–4]	Chapel	E.	Damon and Pythias (by Edwards).
[1562–3]	[Dudley's]	E.	Darius.
1580	[Leicester's]		Delight [Play of Plays].
[1560–1]	[Dudley's]	E.	Disobedient child (by Ingeland).
—	—		Dives. [Query same as preceding.]

Date.	Company.		Name of Play.
1579	Sussex'		Duke of Milan and Marquis of Mantua.
—	—		Dyccon of Bedlam. See Gammer Gurton's Needle.
c. 1560	—		Egio.
1577	Paul's		Error.
1580	Warwick's		Fabii or Four sons of Fabius.
1566	—		Far fetcht and dear bought is good for ladies.
1562	Temple gent.	E.	Ferrex and Porrex = Gorboduc (by Norton and Sackville).
—	—		Fortune [see Common Conditions].
c. 1589	—	E.	Freewill, [translated from Bassentino by H. Cheeke].
1582–3	Chapel	E.	Galatea (by Lyly).
[1564–5]	[Dudley's]		Gammer Gurton's Needle: (by Still).
—	—	E.	Glass of government (by Gascoigne).
—	—		Gorboduc. See Ferrex and Porrex.
1579	Leicester's		Greek Maid.
1574	Clinton's		Herpetulus the blue Knight and Perobia.
1561	Chapel	E.	Hester, godly Queen, and Ahasuerus.
—	cf. Greene		Highway to Heaven.
—	cf. Sir T. More		Hit the nail o' th' Head [=Marriage of Wit and Wisdom].
1575	Kenilworth		Hock Tuesday.
1577	Warwick's		Irish Knight [Cutwell].
1568	—		Jack and Gill.
c. 1579	cf. Gosson		Jew [Query, Three Ladies of London].
1566	Gray's Inn	E.	Jocasta (by Gascoigne).
1561	Ipswich	E.	John King of England (by Bale).
1568	—		King of Scots.
1571	R. Lane's		Lady Barbara.
[1562–3]	[Paul's]	E.	Like will to Like (by Fulwell).
1571–6	—	E.	Longer, The, thou livest the more fool thou art (by W. Wager).
1582	Derby's	E.	Love and Fortune [by Kyd].
1579	Chapel		Loyalty and Beauty.
1560–1	—	E.	Lusty Juventus.
?	—		Lusty London.
1573	Leicester's		Mamillia.
—	cf. Greene		Man's Wit.
1579	Paul's		Marriage of Mind and Measure.
—	—		Marriage of Wit and Science. See Wit and Will.
—	—	E.	Marriage of Wit and Wisdom [=Mind and Measure].
1566–7	—	E.	Mary Magdalen (by S. Wager).
—	—	E.	Mind, Will, and Understanding.
[1559]	[Chapel]	E.	Misogonus.
1579	Sussex'		Murderous Michael.
1577	Windsor		Mutius Scevola.
1572	Chapel		Narcissus.
[1562–3]	—	E.	New Custom.
1559	[Paul's]	E.	Nice Wanton.
1567–8	—	E.	Orestes (by Pickering).
1568	—		Painful Pilgrimage.
1576	Warwick's		Painter's Daughter.
1574	Leicester's		Panecia.
1572	Westminster		Paris and Vienna.
1574	Merchant Taylors'		Perseus and Andromeda.

Date.	Company.		Name of Play.
1574	Howard's		Phedrastus and Phigon and Lucia together.
1574	Leicester's		Philemon and Philecia.
—	—		Play of Plays [See Delight].
1581	Paul's		Pompey.
1580	Sussex'		Portio and Demorantes.
c. 1581	cf. Gosson		Praise at Parting.
1573	Leicester's		Predor and Lucia.
1574–5	Clinton's		Prétestus.
—	—		Prodigal child [Query, Disobedient child].
1568	—		Prodigality.
1578	Not acted	E.	Promos and Cassandra (by Whetstone).
—	cf. Gosson		Ptolemy [Telomo].
1561	—		Queen Hester [See Hester and Ahasuerus].
1574	Windsor		Quintus Fabius.
1561	[Paul's]	E.	Ralph Royster Doyster (by Udall).
1579	Leicester's		Rape of the second Helen.
1579	Not acted	E.	2 Robin Conscience.
1582	Chapel	E.	Sappho and Phao (by Lyly).
1580	Paul's		Scipio and Africanus.
1580	Sussex'		Serpedon.
1568	—		Six Fools.
1577	Howard's		Solitary Knight.
1580	Derby's		Soldan and Duke of ——
1566	Gray's Inn	E.	Supposes (by Gascoigne).
1568	—		Susanna.
1563	Inner Temple	E.	Tancred and Gismund (by Wilmot, &c.).
1583	Leicester's		Telomo [Ptolemy].
1572–3	—		Theagines and Chariclea.
1578	Warwick's		Three sisters of Mantua.
1576	—	E.	Tide tarrieth for no man (by Wapul).
1574	Merchant Taylors'		Timoclea at the siege of Thebes.
1567	—		'Tis good sleeping in a whole skin (by W. Wager).
—	Chapel	E.	Tityrus and Galatea (by Lyly). See Galatea.
1577	Paul's		Titus and Gisippus.
c. 1562–3	—	E.	Tom Tiler and his Wife.
1576	Howard's		Toolie.
c. 1566	—	E.	Trial of Treasure.
1582	Derby's	E.	Triumphs of Love and Fortune (by Kyd).
1574	Westminster		Truth, Faithfulness, and Mercy.
—	cf. Greene		Twelve labors of Hercules.
c. 1561–2 ?	—		Two Sins of King David [Query, by Bale].
1568	—	E.	Wit and Will: see Marriage of Wit and Science.
1560–1	—		Witless.
1557–8	—	E.	Youth [Charity and Humility].

The next list contains the names of play publishers from S. R. In some cases there are dates given after as well as before the names. The after-date applies to plays not found in S. R. Wherever I have found *all* the plays with any publisher's imprint omitted in S. R. I have given his name in a second list, immediately subjoined to the first one.

VI.*a*.—LIST OF PLAY PUBLISHERS FROM S. R., 1559–1640.

Play-Dates.	Publisher.	Not in S. R.
1631	Alchorne, Thomas	
1601–1602	Allde, Edward	
1565–1570	Allde, John	
1630–1633	Allott, Benjamin	[1629]
1618	Alsope, Bernard	
1598–1607	Aspley, William	
1608	Bache, John	
1601	Barnes, John	
1611–1612	Barrenger, William	
1637	Beckett, James	
1633–1634	Beeston, Hugh	
1635–1640	Benson, John	
1639	Blaicklock, Laurence	
1623–1624	Blackmore, Edward	
1595	Blackwell, William	[1594]
1639	Blundon, Humphrey	
1604–1623	Blunt, Edward	
1608–1609	Bonyon, Richard	[1609]
1581	Bradock, R.	
1590–1591	Broome, Mrs. William, widow	
1607–1619	Brown, John	[1611]
1611	Budge, John	
1594–1600	Burby, Cuthbert	
1600–1615	Burre, Walter	[1611–1613]
1607	Burton, Francis	
1609–1610	Busby, John, junior	
1594–1608	Busby, John	
1601	Bushell, Thomas	
1604–1630	Butter, Nathaniel	[1605–1619]
1584	Cadman, Thomas	[1584]
1585	Cawood, Gabriel	
1620	Chapman, Laurence	
1609	Charlton, Jeffrey	
1506–1582	Charlwood, John	
1562–1570	Colwell, Thomas	
1619–1640	Constable, Francis	
1632–1640	Cooke, William	
1560–1563	Copland, William	
1602–1606	Cotton, William	
1594	Creede, Thomas	[1594–1599]
1630–1640	Crooke, Andrew	
1638	Crooke, John	
1635	Crouch, John	
1593–1596	Danter, John	
1630	Dawson, Ephraim	
1566	Denham, Henry	
1606–1608	Edgar, Eliezer	
1640	Egglestone, Francis	
1607	Elde, George	
1629	Emery, Jaspar	
1595	Finch, Robert	
1634	Fisher, Benjamin	

Play-Dates.	Publisher.	Not in S. R.
1600	Fisher, Thomas	
1606	Fosbrook, Nathaniel	
1639	Frere, Daniel	
1596	Gosson, Thomas	
1636–1638	Greene, Charles	
1565	Griffith, William	
1623	Grove, Francis	
1630–1632	Grove, John	[1629–1630]
1560–1584	Hacket, Thomas	
1595	Hancock, Ralph	
1595	Hardy, John	
1631–1639	Harper, Thomas	
1615–1624	Harrison, Josias	
1601	Harrison, John, junior	
1612	Hawkins, Richard	
1600	Hayes, Thomas	
1607–1608	Helme, John	
1619	Higgenbotham, Richard	
1605	Hodgetts, John	[1605–1607]
1600	Holmes, William	[1600]
1576	Hunter, John	
1639	Hutton, George	
1594	Islip, Adam	
1576	Jackson, Hugh	
1607	Jackson, Robert	
1631	Jackman, John	
1623	Jaggard, Isaac	
1593	Jeffes, Abel	
1607	Johnson, Arthur	
1567–1594	Jones, Richard	
1621	Jones, Thomas	[1633]
1592–1598	Jones, William	[1598]
1560	King, John	
1606	Knight, Clement	
1600–1640	Leake, William	
1594	Ling, Nicholas	
1601	Lownes, Matthew	
1615	Lownes, Robert	
1630	Mabbe, Ralph	
1604–1608	Man, Thomas, junior	
1628–1635	Marriott, John	
1653	Marriott, R.	
1565–1570	Marsh, Thomas	
1619–1636	Meighen, Richard	
1627–1631	Milborne, Robert	
1594	Millington, Thomas	[1595]
1608	Moore, Richard	
1638–1660	Moseley, Humphrey	
1577	Mundee, Richard	
1600	Norton, Felix	
1623	Norton, George	
1621	Norton, John	[1636]
1637–1640	Okes, John	
1615–1634	Okes, Nicholas	[1632]
1600	Oliff, Richard	
1599	Oxenbridge, John	
1639	Pakeman, Daniel	

Play-Dates.	Publisher.	Not in S. R.
1618	Parker, John	
1616	Patrich, Miles	
1600–1608	Pavier, Thomas	
1560–1	Pekeryng, William	
1598–1599	Ponsonby, William	
1565	Purfoot, Thomas	
1620	Purslow, George	
1636	Raworth, Robert	
1614–1615	Redmer, Richard	
1622	Rhodes, Matthew	[1629]
1598–1602	Roberts, James	
1632	Robinson, Humphrey	
1605–1607	Rockett, Henry	
1631	Royston, Richard	[1635]
1638–1640	Searger, Richard	
1629–1638	Seile, Henry	
1631–1633	Sheeres, William	
1638	Shepheard, Henry	
1594	Short, Peter	
1638	Slater, Thomas	
1631	Sparkes, Michael	
1634	Spenser, John	
1605	Stafford, Simon	
1611	Stepneth, John	
1557–8	Sutton, Henry	
1604–1610	Thorpe, Thomas	[1605–1607]
1631	Thrall, Richard	
1606–1620	Trundell, John	[1614–1617]
1632	Vavasor, Nicholas	
1607	Vincent, George	
1620–1638	Walkley, Thomas	[1621–1630]
1579–1610	Walley, Henry	[1609]
1557–8	Wally, John	
1577	Ward, Roger	[1584]
1626–1639	Waterson, John	
1632	Waterson, junior	
1593–1607	Waterson, Simon	
1640	Whitaker, Richard	
1592–1594	White, Edward	[1594]
1600–1601	White, William	
1640	Williams, John	
1610	Wilson, Robert[1]	
1640	Wilson, widow	
1598	Wise, Andrew	
1600	Wood, William	
1605–1624	Wright, John	[1615–1631]

[1] This Robert Wilson may have been related to Robert Wilson, the actor and author. Another Robert Wilson, not an actor, died 22nd October 1610; but the actor was buried 20th November 1600. He ceased to write in January 1600. The hypothesis of Collier and his followers as to two Robert Wilsons, who wrote plays, is ingenious; but if there were two Robert Wilsons who wrote, which is in every way probable, the one who died in 1600 was the younger of the two; not the elder, as Collier supposes. His arguments in support of his hypothesis are utterly worthless.

I have also met with the following names of play publishers in S. R. in entries of transferred copyright (but never in those of original publication); they are mostly unimportant, and do not require more than a bare enumeration: T. Barlow; R. Barnes; W. Barrett; H. Bell; M. Bell; R. Bird; R. Bishop; N. Bourne; G. Brewster; G. Cole; J. Coleby; J. Cotes; R. Cotes; T. Cotes; T. Dewe; G. Edwardes; F. Faulkner; M. Flessher; J. Haviland; L. Hayes; P. Knight; T. Knight; T. Lambert; T. Langley; G. Latham; J. Legatt; H. Lownes; T. Lownes; A. Matthews; R. Mead; C. Meredith; J. Nicholson; R. Oulton; G. Potter; H. Perry; J. Smethwick; F. Smith; T. Snodham; W. Stansby; H. Taunton; W. Washington; W. Welby; R. Woodriffe; R. Young.

VI.*b*.—LIST OF PLAY PUBLISHERS (FROM TITLE-PAGES) NOT FOUND IN S. R.

Date.	Publisher.
1629	Allot, Robert.
1607–1613	Archer, Thomas.
1594	Bankworth, Richard.
1613	Barnes, R.
1591	Clarke, Sampson.
1633	Collins, Richard.
1620	Cotes, T.
1599–1600	Ferbrand, William.
1631	Fisher, Benjamin.
1623	Grismand, John.
1599	Hunt, Joseph.
1601–1602	Law, Matthew.
1613	Lightfoot, Benjamin.
1612	Marchant, Edward.
1584	Marsh, Henry.
1625	Massey, Jan (fictitious name).
1613	Rand, Samuel.
1587	Robinson, Robert.
1599	Syms, Valentine.
1602	Vincent, George.
1618	Walbank, Matthew.
1594	Woodcock, Thomas.
1639	Young, Michael.

In the next list I give the plays that I have not succeeded in finding in S. R., with the printer's name (preceded by "by"), as well as the publisher's (preceded by "for") where I could get at it.

VII.—LIST OF PLAYS NOT YET FOUND IN S. R., 1584–1640.

Date.	Printers and Publishers.	Name of Play.
1584	for Thomas Cadman	Alexander and Campaspe.
1584	for Henry Marsh	Arraignment of Paris.
1584	by Roger Warde	Three Ladies of London.
1587-8	for Robert Robinson	Misfortunes of Arthur.
1591	for Sampson Clarke	Troublesome reign of King John.
[c. 1604]	by E[dward] A[llde] for Edward White	Massacre at Paris.
1600	by Widow Orwin for Thomas Woodcock	Duke.
1594	by Thomas Creede	1 Selimus.
1594	by Edward Allde for Richard Bankworth	Battle of Alcazar.
1594	by E[dward] A[llde] for William Blackwall	Wars of Cyrus.
1595	by H[ester] S[harp] for Thomas Millington	Richard Duke of York [S. R. 1602, Apr. 19].
1598	for William Jones	Maccabeus [S. R. 1618, Sep. 17].
1600	by Thomas Creede	Alphonsus of Arragon.
1600	by Thomas Creede	Cleomen and Clamydes.
1600	by Valentine Syms	Humorous day's Mirth.
1600	for Joseph Hunt and William Ferbrand	Two angry women of Abington.
1600	for William Ferbrand	Look about you.
1600	by Valentine Syms	Shoemakers' Holiday [S. R. 1610, Apr. 19].
1601	for Matthew Law	Two tragedies in one.
1602	for Matthew Law	How a man may choose, &c.
1602	by Simon Stafford for George Vincent	Unfortunate and Prodigality.
1605	by Thomas Creede for Nathaniel Butter	London Prodigal.
1605	for Thomas Thorpe	All Fools.
1606	by V[alentine] S[yms] for Thomas Thorpe	Gentleman Usher.
1606	by and for John Hodgetts	Isle of Gulls.
1606	by T[homas] C[reede] for William Holmes	M. d'Olive.
1607	by E[dward] A[llde] for Thomas Archer	Sir P. Wyatt.
1607	for Thomas Thorpe	Valiant [S. R. 1610, Oct. 3].
1607	for John Hodgetts	Westward Ho.
1607	by W[illiam] Jaggard for John Hodgetts	Woman Killed with Kindness.
1609	by E[dward] A[llde] for Thomas Archer	Every woman in her humor.
1609	by N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Archer	Two Maids of Moreclake.
[1609]	for R[ichard] Bonian and H[enry] Walley	Faithful Shepherdess [S. R. 1608, Nov. 8].
1611	for Walter Burre	Catiline [S. R. 1635, July 4].
1611	for Thomas Archer	Roaring Girl [S. R. 1611, Feb. 10].
1611	for John Browne	May Day.
1612	for J[ohn] T[rundle] sold by Edward Marchant	If it be not good, &c.
1612	by N[icholas] O[kes] for Thomas Archer	White Devil [S. R. 1631, Feb. 10].
1613	by T. S. for Thomas Archer	Insatiate Countess [S. R. 1631, Feb. 10].
1613	by Nicholas Okes for Benjamin Legatt	Silver age [S. R. 1630, Aug. 21].
1613	by Nicholas Okes for Samuel Rand	Brazen age.
1613	for Walter Burre	Knight of Burning Pestle.

Date.	Printers and Publishers.	Name of Plays
1613	for R. Barnes	Cynthia's Revenge [S. R. 1635, July 4].
1614	for John Trundle	Greene's Tu Quoque [S. R. 1621, Sep. 2].
1615	for J[ohn W[right]	Four Prentices.
1617	for J[ohn] T[rundle]	Fair Quarrel [S. R. 1621, Sep. 2].
1618	by G[eorge] Eld for Matthew Walbancke	Amends for Ladies.
1619	by William Brent for Nathaniel Butter	Petronius Maximus.
1619	no publisher's name on title-page	Two wise men, &c.
1620	for T. Cotes	Bloody Banquet.
1621	for Thomas Walkley	Thierry and Theodoret.
1623	by A. M. for John Grismand	Devil's Law Case.
1624	June 29. Mrs. White to E. Alde	The Owl (non-extant).
1624	by Augustine Matthews and John Norton for Thomas Jones	Nero.
1625	by Jan Massey; Leyden (?)	Game at Chess.
1629	for R. M.	Albovine.
1629	for M[atthew] Rhodes	Deserving Favorite.
1629	by B[enjamin] Allot and T. F. for Robert Allot	Roman Actor [S. R. 1637, July 1].
1629	[for J. Grove]	Wedding [S. R. 1638, Apr. 28].
1630	by T[homas] C[otes] for John Grove	Wine, Beer, Ale, and Tobacco.
1630	by J. N. for T. Walkley	Picture [S. R. 1634, Aug. 8].
1631	by T. Harper for B[enjamin] Fisher	Antigone.
1631	for John Wright	Fair Em.
1632	by Nicholas Okes	Iron Age [but see S. R. 1630, Aug. 2].
1633	by Augustine Matthews for Thomas Jones	Heir [S. R. 1633, Oct. 24].
1633	by Nicholas Okes for Richard Collins	'Tis pity she's a whore.
1635	for R[ichard] Royston	Adrasta.
1636	for J[ohn Norton]	Vow breaker.
1639	by Thomas Harper for Michael Young	Phœnix in her flames.

N.B.—Romeo and Juliet and Love's Labor's Lost do not appear in S. R. till 1607, Jan. 22. See my "Life of Shakespeare."

About one play in ten months was published without license.

Next follows the most important of all these lists: that of the plays known in any way to have been acted 1584–1642. The abbreviations used in this list are: "H. D.," Henslow's Diary; "adv^{d}." advertised; "ment^{d}." mentioned;" "Her." Herbert; in the first column:—"E." extant; "R." Revels master's license list, 1623–4; "H." Henslow's Diary; "W." destroyed by Warburton's cook; in the second column. This list is far more complete (especially in second titles to plays) than either Halliwell's "Dictionary" or the "Biographia Dramatica," from which Halliwell's book was almost entirely "borrowed."

VIII.—LIST OF PLAYS, 1584–1642.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
1594	H.	Abraham and Lot.
—	—	Absalom. See Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe.
1606. At Court		Abuses. [Query, The Insatiate Countess or Sir T. More.]
Jones, John	E.	Adrasta; or The Woman's Spleen and Love's Conquest.
Chettle Dekker	H.	Agamemnon [altered from the succeeding].
1584. At Court		Agamemnon and Ulysses.
S. R. 1630, Nov.		Agincourt. See Henry 5, Famous Victories of.
Suckling	E.	Aglaura.
Grevile	E.	Alaham.
[Lodge]	E.	Alarum for London; or The Siege of Antwerp.
Heywood, Went. Smith	H.	Alberte Galles [Query, Archigallo].
Glapthorne	E.	Albertus Wallenstein.
Davenant	E.	Albovine, King of the Lombards.
Jonson	E.	Alchemist.
Lyly	E.	Alexander Campaspe and Diogenes; or Campaspe.
1597	H.	Alexander and Lodowick.
—	—	Alexander the Sixth, (Pope). [See The Devil's Charter.]
Alexander	E.	Alexandræan tragedy.
Massinger	W.	Alexius (Alexias); or The Chaste Gallant (Lover).
1597	H.	Alice Pierce.
Chapman	E.	All Fools (but the Fool); or The World runs on Wheels.
Chettle	H.	All is not gold that glisters.
—	—	All is true. See Henry 8.
Rowley, W.	E.	All's lost by Lust.
[1605]	E.	All's one, one of the 4 plays in one, called a Yorkshire Tragedy.
Shakespeare	E.	All's well that ends well.
1611. At Court		Almanac. [A doubtful entry.]
Greene	E.	Alphonsus King of Arragon.
pub. 1654 [Moseley]	E.	Alphonsus of Germany [not by Chapman].
—	—	Ambitious Politic. See Lovesick Court.
Field	E.	Amends for Ladies (with Moll Cutpurse).
Maine	E.	Amorous War.
Heywood	E.	Amphrisa; The Forsaken Shepherdess; or Pelopcea and Alope.
Randolph	E.	Amyntas; or The impossible Dowry.
1624. Her.	R.	Angel King.
May	E.	Antigone, the Theban Princess.
Brome	E.	Antipodes.
Marmion	E.	Antiquary.
Marston	E.	1 Antonio and Mellida.
Marston	E.	2 Antonio and Mellida; or Antonio's Revenge.
[Dekker]; Massinger	H.	Antonio and Vallia.
Shakespeare	E.	Antony and Cleopatra.
Middleton	E.	Anything for a quiet life.
Percy	MS.	Aphrodisial; or Sea Feast.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Heywood	E.	Apollo and Daphne.
Hawkins	E.	Apollo shroving. (Private.)
Webster	E.	Appius and Virginia.
Brome, Heywood, S. R. 1864		Apprentice's Prize.
Percy	MS.	Arabia Sitiens; or A Dream of a dry Year.
Shirley	E.	Arcadia.
Chettle, Haughton	H.	Arcadian Virgin.
[Kyd]	E.	Arden of Feversham, The lamentable and true tragedy of.
Glapthorne	E.	Argalus and Parthenia.
—		Arraignment. See Poetaster.
Daborne, Tourneur	H.	Arraignment of London.
Peele	E.	Arraignment of Paris.
—	—	Arthur. See Misfortunes of Arthur.
Hathway	H.	Arthur, The Life (and death) of, King of England.
c. 1597 mentd. 2 Hen. 4		Arthur's Show [Query, Hathaway's play, Apr. 1598].
Carlell	E.	1, 2 Arviragus and Philicia.
Hathway	H.	As merry as may be.
Shakespeare	E.	As you like it.
Tourneur	E.	Atheist's tragedy; or The Honest Man's Revenge.
—	—	Bad Beginning makes a bad ending. See Ill. B.
—	—	Baiting of the Jealous Knight. See The Fair Foul One.
Chapman; Shirley	E.	Ball.
1595	H.	Barnardo and Fiametta.
[Fletcher, Massinger]	E.	Barnaveldt, The tragedy of Sir John van Olden.
Jonson	E.	Bartholomew Fair.
Massinger	E.	Bashful Lover.
pub. 1652	E.	Bastard.
Peele	E.	Battle of Alcazar (Muley Muloceo).
—	—	Battle of the Affections. See Pathomachia.
Charles I	MS.	Battle of the Vices against the Virtues: a moral play.
—	—	Baxter's [Barkstead's] tragedy. See Insatiate Countess.
Dekker	H.	Bear a Brain; or Better late than never.
—	—	Bearing down the Inn. See Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants.
—	—	Beauties. [See Bird in a cage.]
Ford	W.	Beauty in a Trance.
Day, Haughton	H.	Beech's Tragedy; or The tragedy of Merry.
Fletcher, [Massinger]	E.	Beggars' Bush.
Massinger	E.	Believe as you list.
1594	H.	Bellenden [Belin Dun].
Daborne	H.	Bellman of London.
Day, Dekker	R.	Bellman of Paris.
1592	H.	Bemdo and Ricardo.
—	—	Benedick and Beatrice. See Much Ado about Nothing.
—	—	Best Words wear the Garland. See Two Merry Milkmaids.
—	—	Better late than never. See Bear a Brain.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—		Bilbo's the best blade. See Hard Shift for Husbands.
Shirley	E.	Bird in a Cage [Beauties].
[Middleton]. Rowley	E.	Birth of Merlin; or The Child hath found a Father.
Chet., Dek., Dray., Wil.	H.	1 Black Bateman of the North.
Chettle, Wilson	H.	2 Black Bateman of the North.
Day, Hathway, Smith	H.	Black Dog of Newgate.
1597	H.	Black Joan.
1623. Her.	R.	Black Lady.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Black Wedding.
Chapman	E.	Blind Beggar of Alexandria.
Chettle, Day	E.	1 Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green (with Tom Stroud).
Day, Haughton	H.	2 Blind Beggar of B. G.: with the end of Stroud.
Day, Haughton	H.	3 Thomas Stroud.
Heywood	H.	Blind eats many a fly.
T. D. pub. 1620	E.	Bloody Banquet.
—	—	Bloody Brother. See Rollo.
Middleton	E.	Blurt Master Constable.
[Heywood] ment. K. of B. P., 1613		Bold Beauchamps.
Day, Hathway	H.	Boss of Billingsgate.
Massinger	E.	Bondman, The (noble).
Fletcher	E.	Bonduca.
S. R. 1653, Sep. 23		Bondwoman.
S. R. 1608		Bonos Nochios.
1597	H.	Bourbon. (Borbonur or Burbon.)
1592	H.	Brandymer.
1597	H.	Branhowlte, or Brunhowlte.
Heywood	E.	Brazen Age.
Suckling	E.	Brennoralt: or the Discontented Colonel.
Nabbes	E.	Bride.
Dekker, Ford	R.	Bristol Merchant.
Day	H.	Bristol Tragedy.
Ford	E.	Broken Heart.
Shirley	E.	Brothers. [See Dick of Devonshire and Politic Father.]
1593	H.	Buckingham.
1623, Her.	R.	Buck is a thief [Query, Wit at several weapons].
Eliz.	MS.	Bugbears.
Chapman	E.	Bussy Dambois.
1602	H.	Byron (Berowne, Burone).
Chapman.	E.	Byron, 1 Conspiracy, and 2 Tragedy of Charles Duke of.
1594	H.	1, 2 Cesar and Pompey.
Chapman	E.	Cesar and Pompey
Dray., Mid., Mon., Web.	H.	Cæsar's Fall.
—	—	Cæsar's Tragedy. See Julius Cæsar.
Heywood	MS.	Calisto [from Golden and Silver Ages].
—	—	Campaspe. See Alexander and Campaspe.
Fletcher and ——	E.	Captain.
—	—	[Captain Underwit]. See Country Captain.
Dekker, Peele, &c.	E.	Captain Thomas Stukely, Life and death of. See Stewtley.
Heywood	E.	Captives; or The Lost Recovered.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—	—	Caradoc the Great. See Valiant Welshman.
—	—	Cardenno, Cardenas, Cordema, Cardenio. See Love's Pilgrimage.
Shirley	E.	Cardinal.
Chettle	H.	1 Cardinal Wolsey (Life of).
Chet., Dray., Mun., Smith c. 1591	H.	2 Cardinal Wolsey (Rising of).
Goffe	E.	Cards [mentioned by Harrington].
Haughton	H.	Careless Shepherdess.
Jonson	E.	Cartwright, William.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Case is altered.
Jonson	E.	Castara ; or Cruelty without lust.
Chettle, Wilson	H.	Catiline his Conspiracy.
1598		Catiline's Conspiracy,
Chapman, Shirley	E.	Celestina (Scelestina). See Beauty of Huswifery, 1582.
Dek., Dray., Mon., Wil.	H.	Chabot, Admiral of France.
Fletcher	E.	Chance Medley.
Middleton, Rowley	E.	Chances.
Shirley	E.	Changeling.
Middleton	E.	Changes ; or Love in a maze.
—	—	Chaste Maid in Cheapside.
adv. 1658		Chaste Gallant (Lover). See Alexius.
—	—	Chaste Woman against her will.
—	—	Chester Tragedy. See Randall Earl of Chester.
1596	H.	Child hath found his Father. See Birth of Merlin.
Brome, S. R. 1640		Chinon of England.
Daborne	E.	Christianetta.
Chet., Dek., Hey., Web.	H.	Christian turned Turk ; or Ward and Dansaker.
Rutter	E.	Christmas comes but once a year.
—	—	Cid.
Massinger	E.	City Gallant. See Green's Tu Quoque.
Mayne	E.	City Madam.
Davenport	E.	City Match.
Her. 1633	W.	City Nightcap ; or Crede quod habes, et habes.
Brome	E.	City Shuffler.
Dekker, Drayton	H.	City Wit ; or The Woman wears the Breeches.
Killigrew, T.	E.	1, 2, 3 Civil Wars of France.
1607	E.	Clarecilla.
—	—	Claudius Tiberius Nero, The (stately) tragedy of.
Habington	E.	Cleander. See Lovers' progress.
Daniel	E.	Cleodora Queen of Arragon.
May	E.	Cleopatra.
1592	H.	Cleopatra Queen of Egypt.
1600 S. R.		Clorys and Orgasto.
1597	H.	Cloth Breeches and Velvet Hose.
Wilson, R.	E.	Cobler (of Queenhithe).
—	—	Cobler's Prophecy.
1595, H. D.	H.	Cockle de moy. See Dutch Courtesan.
Davenant, S. R. 1629		Cœlo (Seleo) et Olympo [Golden Age].
—	—	Colonel [Albovine].
—	—	Columbus. A forged entry in "Henslow's Diary."
Day		Comedy of Errors. See Errors.
		Come see a Wonder [Wonder of a Kingdom].

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—	—	Come to my Country House. See Crafty Merchant.
Cockpit, 1639		Conceited Duke [not The Noble Gentleman].
—	—	Conceited Pedlar. See Pedlar.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Conceits.
Dekker, Drayton	H.	Connan, prince of Cornwall.
Chettle, Day	H.	Conquest of Brute with the first finding of the Bath.
Hathway, Rankens	H.	Conquest of Spain by John a Gaunt.
Day, Haughton, Smith	H.	Conquest of the West Indies.
—	—	Conspiracy. See Pallantus and Eudora.
—	—	Conspiracy of Charles, Duke of Byron. See Byron.
1592	H.	Constantine.
Shirley	E.	Constant Maid.
1601 Court	E.	Contention between Liberality and Prodigality.
[Marlow, Greene, Peele, Lodge]	E.	1 Contention betwixt York and Lancaster; 2 Henry 6.
—	—	2 Contention, &c. See Richard Duke of York.
Shirley	E.	Contention for Honor and Riches. See Honoria and Mammon.
Shirley	E.	Contention of Ajax and Ulysses for the armor of Achilles.
—	—	Contract broken justly revenged. See Noble Soldier.
—	—	Converted Conjuror. See Two Noble Ladies.
—	—	Converted Courtesan. See Honest Whore.
Shakespeare	E.	Coriolanus.
Kyd	E.	Cornelia; or Pompey the great and his fair Cornelia's tragedy.
Shirley	E.	Coronation.
Wilson, A. S. R. 1646		Corporal
1632	E.	Costly Whore.
Newcastle	E.	Country Captain. [Called Captain Underwit and assigned to Shirley by A. H. Bullen.
S. R. 1653		Countryman.
Percy	MS.	Country tragedy in Vacuniam; or Cupid's Sacrifice.
—	—	Courage of Love. See Love and Honor.
Hemmings, 1633		Coursing of the Hare; or The Madcap.
Brome	E.	Court Beggar.
Shirley	E.	Court Secret.
Nabbes	E.	Covent Garden.
—	—	Covent Garden weeded. See Weeding of C. G.
Beaumont, Fletcher	E.	Coxcomb.
Day, Haughton	H.	Cox of Collumpton.
1595	H.	Crack me this Nut.
S. R. 1608.		Craft upon Subtilty's back.
Marmeon	W.	Crafty Merchant; or The Soldiered Citizen or the Merchant's Sacrifice.
Bonen	R.	Crafty Merchant; or Come to my Country House.
—	—	Crede quod habes et habes. See City Night-cap.
—	—	Cripple of Fenchurch Street. See Fair Maid of the Exchange.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Alexander	E.	Crœsus.
Davenant	E.	Cruel Brother.
Printed 1643	E.	Cruel War
—	—	Cruelty without lust. See Castara.
Percy	MS.	Cuckqueans and Cuckolds Errants. See Bearing down the Inn.
Brome, A.	E.	Cunning Lovers.
—	—	Cupid and Psyche. See The Golden Ass.
Heywood	E.	Cupid's Mistress; Cupid and Psyche; or Queen's mask.
Beau., Flet. [Field.]	E.	Cupid's Revenge.
—	—	Cupid's Sacrifice. See Country Tragedy in Vacuniam.
—	—	Cupid's Vagaries. See Hymen's Holiday.
S[harpham], E.	E.	Cupid's Whirligig.
Rowley, Webster ?	E.	Cure for a Cuckold.
Fletcher, [Massinger]	E.	Custom of the Country.
1594	H.	Cutlack.
Heywood	H.	Cutting Dick.
Shakespeare	E.	Cymbeline.
Jonson	E.	Cynthia's Revels.
Stephens [Swallow]	E.	Cynthia's Revenge; or Mænander's Extasy.
?	MS.	Cyprian Conqueror; or Faithless Relict.
Brome	E.	Damoiselle; or New Ordinary.
Chettle	H.	Damon and Pythias.
—	—	Danish Tragedy. [See Hoffman.]
Alexander	E.	Darius.
—	—	David and Bethsabe. See Son of King David.
1592	plot.	Dead man's Fortune.
?	MS.	Demetrius and Marsina; or The Imperial Imposter and unhappy heroine.
Carlell	E.	Deserving Favorite.
—	—	Devil and his Dame. See Grim the Collier of Croydon.
Jonson	E.	Devil is an ass.
Fletcher, 1623	R.	Devil of Dowgate [and his Son]; or Usury put to use. [See Wit at several weapons.]
Barnes	E.	Devil's Charter. [See Alexander 6.]
Webster	E.	Devil's Law Case; or When women go to law the Devil is full of business.
?	MS.	Diana's Grove; or The Faithful Genius.
—	—	Dick of Devonshire. [The original name was The Brothers, which see.]
Marlow, Nash	E.	Dido, queen of Carthage, or Dido and Œneas.
[Dekker]	H.	Dioclesian. [Virgin Martyr.]
—	—	Discontented Colonel. See Brennoralt.
—	—	Discreet Lover. See The Fool would be a Favorite.
1595	H.	Disguises. [May day.]
—	E.	[Distracted Emperor. Mr. A. H. Bullen's title.]
Tatham	E.	Distracted State.
Davenant	—	Distresses; [or Spanish Lovers.]
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Divorce.
[Dekker] Marlow	E.	Doctor Faustus; Tragical History of.
[Dekker] Marlow	E.	The same with reformations by Bird and S. Rowley.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—	—	Don Horatio. See Jeronymo.
adv. 1658		Don Quixote, The Comical History of.
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	Double Marriage.
—	—	Doubtful Heir. See Rosania.
—	—	Dream of a dry year. See Arabia Sitiens.
Shirley	E.	Duke. [Humorous Courtier.]
S. R. 1660	W.	Duke Humphrey.
Shirley, H. S. R. 1653		Duke of Guise.
Massinger	E.	Duke of Milan.
Shirley	E.	Duke's Mistress.
Shirley, H. S. R. 1653		Dumb Bawd.
Machin, Markham	E.	Dumb Knight.
Marston	E.	Dutch Courtesan; [or Cockledemoy].
Glapthorne. S. R. 1660	W.	Dutchess of Fernandina.
Webster	E.	Dutchess of Malfy.
Drue	E.	Dutchess of Suffolk.
1623, Her.	R.	Dutch Painter and French Brank.
Wadeson	H.	Earl of Gloster, The Honorable life of the Humorous, with his Conquest of Portugal.
Chet., Dek., Dray., Wil.	H.	1, 2 Earl Godwin and his three sons.
Chapman, Marston, Jonson	E.	Eastward Ho.
—	MS.	Edmund Ironside; or War hath made all friends.
Peele	E.	Edward 1, The famous Chronicle of, surnamed Longshanks. [See Longshank, an alteration thereof.]
Marlow	E.	Edward 2.
[Marlow, Shakespeare]	E.	Edward 3.
Heywood	E.	1, 2 Edward 4. [With Shore, Tanner of Tamworth, and Besieging of London.] See Shore and Siege of London.
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	Elder Brother.
Massinger	E.	Emperor of the East.
Vennard	plot	England's Joy. [Queen Elizabeth.]
Haughton	H.	English Fugitives.
Haughton	E.	Englishmen for my money; or A Woman will have her Will.
Brome	E.	English Moor; or the Mock Marriage.
Heywood	E.	English Traveller.
Jonson	E.	Epicene; or The Silent Woman.
Shakespeare	E.	Errors, Comedy of. See Comedy of Errors.
Jonson	E.	Every man in his Humor.
Jonson	E.	Every man out of his Humor.
c. 1600	E.	Every woman in her Humor.
Shirley	E.	Example.
—	—	Excellency of her Sex. See Queen.
lic. 1598		Exposure. [So "Biog. Dram." I cannot find the entry in S. R.]
Massinger, 1640		Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo.
Dek., Dray., Hath., Mon.	H.	1 Fair Constance of Rome.
Hathway	H.	2 Fair Constance of Rome.
1589	E.	Fair Em the Miller's daughter of Manchester with the love of William the Conqueror.
Smith [William]	R.	Fair Foul One; or The Baiting of the Jealous Knight.
S. R. 1605	E.	Fair Maid of Bristol.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—	—	Fair Maid of Clifton in Nottinghamshire. See Vow Breaker.
Heywood	E.	Fair Maid of the Exchange (with the Cripple of Fenchurch).
Fletcher, Rowley [Massinger]	E.	Fair Maid of the Inn.
1594	H.	Fair Maid of Italy.
No play		[Fair Maid of London, a *ballad*, S. R. 1597, Jan. 23].
Heywood	E.	1, 2 Fair Maid of the West; or A Girl with Gold.
Middleton, Rowley	E.	Fair Quarrel (with Chaugh, Trim tram and Bawd).
adv. 1658		Fair Spanish Captive.
1624. Her.	R.	Fair Star of Antwerp.
Dekker, Ford	R.	Fairy Knight.
Percy	E.	Fairy Pastoral; or Forest of Elves.
MS. War.	W.	Fairy Queen.
[? Daborne]	E.	Faithful Friends. [Not by Beaumont and Fletcher.]
—	—	Faithful Genius. See Diana's Grove.
—	—	Faithful Servant. See Grateful S.
Fletcher [Beaumont]	E.	Faithful Shepherdess.
—	—	Faithless Relict. See Cyprian Conqueror.
R. Z. 1631	MS.	Fallacy; or The troubles of Great Hermenia.
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	False One.
Middleton	E.	Family of Love.
—	—	Famous Victories of Henry 5. See Henry 5.
Chettle, Dekker, Drayton	H.	Famous Wars of Henry 1 and the Prince of Wales.
Ford	E.	Fancies chaste and noble.
Massinger, S. R. 1660	W.	Fast (Taste) and Welcome.
Davenport, S. R. 1660		Fatal Brothers.
Hemmings, W.	E.	Fatal Contract.
Field, Massinger	E.	Fatal Dowry.
—	—	Fatal Error. See Orgula.
Burroughs, S. R. 1646		Fatal Friendship.
—	MS.	Fatal Marriage; or second Lucretia.
? Chapman, S. R. 1660	W.	Fatal Love.
—	—	Fatal Union. See Sicily and Naples.
—	—	Father's own son. See Monsieur Thomas.
Brome, Jonson, jun.	R.	Fault in Friendship.
Marston	E.	Fawn; or Parasitaster.
Chettle, ? Robinson	H.	Femelanco.
Monday	E.	Fidele and Fortunio; or The Two Italian Gentlemen. [S. R. Fedele and Fortuna.]
Marmion	E.	Fine Companion.
[Tarleton], at Court 1585		Five plays in one. [See Seven Deadly Sins.]
[Heywood]	H.	Five plays in one. [See Brazen Age.]
—	—	Five Witty Gallants. See Your five Gallants.
Sharpham	E.	Fleire.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Florentine Friend.
[Davenport], Cockpit 1639; S. R. 1653, Nov.		Fool and her maidenhead soon parted.
adv. 1658		Fool transformed.
Rowley, S. R. 1653		Fool without book.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Carlell	E.	Fool would be a favorite; or The discreet Lover.
—	—	Forced Lady. See Minerva's Sacrifice.
—	—	Forest of Elves. See Fairy Pastoral.
—	—	Forsaken Shepherdess. See Amphrisa.
Dekker	H.	"Forteion" tennis. [Query, Hortenzo's Tennis. Cf. Lust's Dominion, v. 5.]
Hathway	H.	Fortunate General.
—	—	Fortunatus. See Old Fortunatus.
Heywood, Rowley?	E.	Fortune by Land and Sea (With Purser and Clinton).
Chapman	H.	Fountain of New Fashions. [See M. D'Olive.]
Rowley, S. R. 1660	W.	(Four) Honored Loves.
1598	H.	Four Kings [Clyomon and Clamydes].
[Tarleton]	H.	Four plays in one [Seven deadly Sins].
Beaumont, Fletcher	E.	Four plays in one; or Triumphs of Death, Honor, Love, and Time.
Heywood	E.	Four Prentices of London with the Conquest of Jerusalem.
Old in 1602	H.	Four Sons of Aymon.
—	—	Fox. See Volpone.
plot 1597		Frederick and Basilea.
Smith, William, ment^{d}. 1615		Freeman's Honor.
1595	H.	French Comedy.
1594	H.	French Doctor.
adv. 1662		French Schoolmaster.
Greene	E.	Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay, The honorable history of.
1599	H.	Friar Fox and Gillian of Brentford.
1594	H.	Friar Francis.
Day	H.	Friar Rush.
1597	H.	Friar Spendleton (Pendleton).
adv. 1661		Fulgius and Lucrelle (Lucrette).
Lyly	E.	Galatea.
—	—	Galfrido and Barnardo. [A forged entry in "Henslow's Diary."]
1594	H.	Galeaso.
Middleton	E.	Game at (of) Chess.
Shirley	E.	Gamester.
?	E.	General.
—	—	Gentle Craft. See Shoemaker's Holiday.
Shirley	E.	Gentleman of Venice.
Chapman	E.	Gentleman Usher.
Greene [Lodge]	E.	George a Greene, The Pinner of Wakefield.
S. R. 1601		George (Granderbury) Scanderbage, The True History of.
1640	E.	Ghost; or The Woman wears the Breeches.
—	—	Gipsy. See Spanish Gipsy.
Shirley, H., S. R. 1653		Giraldo the constant Lover.
—	—	Girl worth Gold. See Fair Maid of the West.
—	—	Gismond of Salerne in love. See Tancred and Gismond.
S. R. 1600		Give a man luck and throw him into the sea.
S. R. 1594	H.	1 Godfrey of Bulloigne, with the Conquest of Jerusalem. [See Jerusalem.]

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
[Heywood].	H.	2 Godfrey of Bulloigne, &c. [Four Prentices of London.]
1594. S. R. 1601	H.	God Speed the Plough.
Heywood	E.	Golden Age [Cœlo et Olympo]; or The Lives of Jupiter and Saturn.
Chettle, Day, Dekker	H.	Golden Ass and Cupid and Psyche.
Formido	MS.	Governor.
1604 ment[d].		Gowry.
Shirley	E.	Grateful (Faithful) Servant.
Massinger	E.	Great Duke of Florence.
War. MS.	W.	Great Man.
1594	H.	Grecian Comedy.
ment[d]. 1654		Greeks and Trojans. [Query, Heywood's Iron Age.]
Cooke	E.	Green's Tu quoque; or The City Gallant.
Haughton	E.	Grim the Collier of Croydon; or The Devil and his Dame.
Baron	E.	Gripus and Hegio; or The Passionate Lovers.
?	MS.	Grobiana's Nuptials.
Massinger	E.	Guardian.
ment[d]. 1654		Guelphs and Ghibellines.
1597	H.	Guido.
Webster, ment[d]. 1623		Guise. [Not in H. D. "Webster" there is a forged insertion.]
—	—	Guise; or Massacre of France. See Massacre at Paris.
Dekker, S. R. 1660	W.	Gustavus King of Swethland.
Day, Dekker	E.	Guy, Earl of Warwick. [Not "by B. J." as in 1661 title.]
—	—	Hague. See Jeweller of Amsterdam.
[Kyd] ment[d]. 1589		Hamlet.
Shakespeare	E.	Hamlet.
Dekker, Drayton, Wilson	H.	Hannibal and Hermes; or Worse afeard than Hurt.
Hathway, Rankens	H.	Hannibal and Scipio.
Nabbes	E.	Hannibal and Scipio.
Belchier	E.	Hans Beerpot, his invisible comedy of See me and See me not.
1597	H.	Hardic[an]ute.
Rowley, S.	R.	Hard Shift for Husbands; or Bilbo's the best Blade.
1592	H.	Harry of Cornwall.
1595	H.	Harry the fifth.
1597	H.	Harry the first's life and death.
Smith, William	E.	Hector of Germany; or Palsgrave Prime Elector.
May	E.	Heir.
S. R. 1594		Heliogabalus, Life and death of.
—	—	Hengist. See Mayor of Quinborough.
Wilson	H.	1, 2 Henry Richmond.
Davenport, S. R. 1653	W.	Henry 1 and Henry 2.
Shakespeare	E.	1, 2 Henry 4 (with Hotspur and Falstaff).
Shakespeare	E.	Henry 5, The Chronicle history of.
c. 1586	E.	Henry 5, Famous Victories of.
[Greene, Peele, Marl.] Shak.	E.	1 Henry 6.
	E.	2, 3 Henry 6. See Contention betwixt York and Lancaster.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—	—	Henry 8, The Famous Chronicle History of. See When you see me, &c.
Carlell	E.	Heraclius Emperor of the East.
[Heywood]	H.	1 Hercules [Silver Age].
[Heywood]	H.	2 Hercules [Brazen Age].
Markham, Sampson	E.	Herod and Antipater with the death of the fair Miriam.
Cartwright	E.	Heroic Lover; or The Infanta of Spain.
1594	H.	Hester and Ahasuerus. See (Godly) Queen Hester, 1561.
Head	E.	Hic et Ubique; or The Humors of Dublin.
[Wilson] ment^{d}. 1592		Highway to Heaven.
[Marston]	E.	Histriomastix; or The Player Whipt.
Chettle, [Heywood]	E.	Hoffman, Tragedy of; or Revenge for a Father.
Tailor	E.	Hog hath lost his Pearl.
Glapthorne	E.	Hollander.
Marmion	E.	Holland's Leaguer. See The Leaguer.
S. S.	E.	Honest Lawyer.
[Dab., Field, Mass.] Flet.	E.	Honest man's fortune.
—	—	Honest man's revenge. See Atheist's Tragedy.
Dekker, Middleton	E.	1 Honest Whore; or Converted Courtesan.
Dekker	E.	2 Honest Whore.
Shirley	E.	Honoria and Mammon. [Contention for Honor and Riches.]
1624, Her.	R.	Honor in the End.
Massinger	E.	Honor of Women; or Spanish Viceroy.
—	—	Honor of Young Ladies. See Lovesick Maid.
Chettle, Jonson, Porter	H.	Hot Anger soon cold.
—	—	Hotspur. See 1 Henry 4.
[Heywood]	E.	How a man may choose a good wife from a bad.
—	—	How a man may please his wife. See Way to content all Women.
Heywood. Court 1605		How to learn of a woman to woo. [Query, The Wise Woman of Hogsdon.]
Shirley	E.	Humorous Courtier.
Chapman	E.	Humorous day's mirth. (Humour.)
Fletcher	E.	Humourous lieutenant.
—	—	Humours of Dublin. See Hic et ubique.
Day	E.	Humour out of breath.
—	—	Humours reconciled. See Magnetic lady.
Gunnel	R.	Hungarian lion.
Peele		Hunting of Cupid (bits extant).
1593	H.	Huon of Bordeaux.
Shirley	E.	Hyde Park.
Rowley, S. Court 1612		Hymen's Holiday; or Cupid's Vagaries.
Dekker	E.	If it be not good the Devil is in't.
Heywood	E.	1, 2 If you know not me you know nobody; or The troubles of Queen Elizabeth.
Court 1613	W.	Ill beginning has a good end, and a bad beginning may have a good end. *Sic.* See Bad beginning, &c. [London Prodigal].
Freeman	E.	Imperiale.
—	—	Imperial impostor. See Demetrius and Enanthe.
—		Impossible dowry. See Amyntas.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Shirley	E.	Imposture.
Wilson, A.	E.	Inconstant Lady.
—	—	Infanta of Spain. See Heroic Love.
Barksted, Marston men. 1633.	E.	Insatiate Countess. (Barkstead's Tragedy.)
		Invisible Knight.
S. R. 1660		Iphis and Ianthe; or A marriage without a man.
Kirke 1642		Irish Rebellion.
Heywood	E.	1, 2 Iron Age. See Troy.
Fletcher	E.	Island Princess.
Nash, mentd. 1599		Isle of Dogs.
Day	E.	Isle of Gulls.
Massinger. S. R. 1653	W.	Italian Nightpiece; or The unfortunate piety.
Day, Smith	H.	Italian tragedy.
—	—	Jack Cottington. See Knave in grain.
[Marston]	E.	Jack Drum's entertainment; or Pasquil and Katherine.
[Peele]	E.	Jack Straw, Life and death of.
Greene [Lodge]	E.	James 4, The Scottish history of. (With Oberon, King of Fairies.)
Chettle, Day	H.	Jane Shore. [Query, Heywood's Edward 4 reformed.]
Dekker, Monday	H.	Jephtha.
[Kyd]	E.	Jeronymo; or The Spanish Tragedy, with the wars in Portugal.
1592	H.	Jerusalem. See Godfrey of Bulloigne.
Marlow	E.	Jew of Malta, The rich.
Dekker, S. R. 1653		Jew of Venice.
Heming, W.	E.	Jews' Tragedy; their overthrow by Vespasian and Titus.
Field, Flet., Mass., S. R. 1654		Jeweller of Amsterdam; or The Hague.
Brome, S. R. 1640		Jewish Gentleman.
Heywood	H.	Joan as good as my lady.
Greene, S. R. 1594	W.	Job, The history of.
Dekker, S. R. 1660	W.	Jocundo and Astolpho.
Monday	E.	John a Kent and John a Cumber.
[Greene, Marlow, Peele]	E.	John King of England, Troublesome reign of.
Shakespeare	E.	John, King.
Davenport	E.	John and Matilda, King.
Day, Haughton	H.	John Cox of Collumpton.
Rowley, S.	H.	Joshua.
Brome	E.	Jovial Crew; or Merry Beggars.
Bird, Rowley, S.	H.	Judas.
Massinger	W.	Judge.
? Boyle	H.	Jugurth King of Numidia.
May	E.	Julia Agrippina, Empress of Rome, her tragedy.
1596	H.	Julian the Apostate.
Alexander	E.	Julius Cesar. (Cæsar's Tragedy.)
Shakespeare	E.	Julius Cesar.
—	—	Jupiter and Saturn. See Golden age.
Marmche	E.	Just General. Not acted.
Davenant	E.	Just Italian.
Beaumont, Fletcher	E.	King and no King.
Massinger, 1638		King and Subject [Tyrant].
—		King of Swedland. See Gustavus King of Swethland.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
S. R. 1653		King's Mistress.
1592 H. D.	E.	Knack (how) to know a Knave (with Kemp's men of Gotham).
1594 H. D.	E.	Knack (how) to know an honest man.
J. D.	E.	Knave in grain; or Jack Cottington.
Rowley, S. R. 1653		Knave in print; or One for another. [The Knaves, Court 1613.]
[Field, Mass.], Fletcher	E.	Knight of Malta.
Beaumont, Fletcher	E.	Knight of the Burning Pestle.
Glapthorne	E.	Ladies' Privilege.
Ford	E.	Ladies' Trial.
Cartwright	E.	Lady Errant.
Chet., Dek., Hey., Smith, Web.	H.	1 Lady Jane [Sir Thomas Wyatt.]
Dekker	H.	2 Lady Jane [Sir Thomas Wyatt.]
Glapthorne	E.	Lady Mother [Noble Trial].
Shirley	E.	Lady of Pleasure.
Burnell	E.	Landgartha.
—	—	Large Prerogative. See Love in its extasy.
—	—	Lasander [Lysander] and Calista. See Lovers' Progress.
Brome, Heywood	E.	Late Lancashire Witches; or Witches of L.
Ford, Webster	R.	Late murder of the son upon the mother.
W. M.	MS.	Launching of the May, 1632.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Law Case [Webster's Devil's Law Case].
[? Massinger]	E.	Laws of Candy.
Day	E.	Law Tricks; or Who would have thought it?
Shakespeare	E.	Lear, The True Chronicle history of the life and death of King, and his three daughters (with Edgar, Tom o' Bedlam).
[Greene, Lodge]	E.	Leir, The true chronicle history of King.
1632	—	Leaguer [Holland's Leaguer].
—	—	Light Heart. See New Inn.
1600	H.	Like unto like. ["Like quits like" in H. D. is a forgery.]
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	Little French Lawyer.
—	—	Little Thief. See Nightwalker.
[Peele]	E.	Locrine, The lamentable tragedy of. Overseen by W. S.
Gomersal	E.	Lodovick Sforza, duke of Milan.
[1625]	E.	London Chanticleers.
Chettle, Heywood	H.	London Florentine.
—	—	London Maid. See Thorney Abbey.
Ford, S. R. 1660	W.	London Merchant.
1604 [Armin]	E.	London Prodigal. See Ill Beginning makes a good end.
1595	H.	Long Meg of Westminster [and the Ship].
—	—	Longshank. See Edward I.
[Wadeson]	E.	Look about you.
Shirley, S. R. 1640		Look to the lady.
Greene, Lodge	E.	Looking-glass for London and England.
W. S.	E.	Lord Cromwell, Chronicle history of.
Barclay	E.	Lost Lady.
—	—	Lost Recovered. See Captives.
adv. 1658		Louis 11, King of France, The history of.
Davenant	E.	Love and Honor, Courage of Love, The Nonparels or The Matchless Maids.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Tatham	E.	Love crowns the end. (Private.)
—	—	Love in a maze. See Changes.
? Peaps	E.	Love in its extasy; or Large Prerogative.
—	—	Love lies a bleeding. See Philaster.
1594	H.	Love of a Grecian lady. [See Mahomet.]
Peele	E.	Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe with the tragedy of Absalom.
Chettle, Smith	H.	Love parts friendship.
Porter	H.	Love prevented.
Ford	E.	Lovers' melancholy.
MS. War.	W.	Lovers of Ludgate.
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	Lovers' Progress [Lysander and Calista; Cleander; altered, from The Wandering Lovers or The Painter by Fletcher.]
1635		Love's aftergame; or The Proxy.
?	MS.	Love's changelings changed [from Sidney's Arcadia].
—	—	Love's convert. See Siege.
Shirley	E.	Love's cruelty.
Beaumont, Flet. [Mass.]	E.	Love's Cure; or The martial maid.
Brome	E.	Lovesick Court; or The ambitious politic.
Brewer	E.	Lovesick King. (Cartesmunda. Nun of Winchester.)
Brome, 1629; S. R. 1653		Lovesick maid; or Honor of young ladies.
Shakespeare	E.	Love's Labor's Lost.
Shakespeare, ment^{d}. 1598		Love's Labor's Won [Much Ado about Nothing].
Ford, T.	E.	Love's Labyrinth; or Royal Shepherdess.
—	—	Love's Lodestone. See Pathomachia.
Heywood; S. R. 1640		Love's masterpiece.
Lyly	E.	Love's metamorphosis.
Heywood	E.	Love's (Cupid's) mistress; Cupid and Psyche; or Queen's mask.
Fletcher, [Jonson]	E.	Love's Pilgrimage [Cardenas].
Cowley	E.	Love's Riddle.
Ford	E.	Love's Sacrifice.
—	—	Love's Victory. See Rosania.
—	—	Love tricks. See School of Compliments.
—	—	Love will find out the way. See Constant Maid.
Manuche	E.	Loyal lovers (not acted).
Fletcher	E.	Loyal Subject.
1594	H.	Lud, King.
[Day, Dekker, Haughton]	E.	Lust's dominion; or The Lascivious Queen. See Spanish Moor's Tragedy.]
Shakespeare	E.	Macbeth.
1592	H.	Machiavel.
Daborne, 1613		Machiavel and the Devil.
1595	H.	Mack.
Barnes	R.	Madcap.
Brome	E.	Mad couple well matched (met).
Fletcher	E.	Mad lover.
Dekker, Drayton, Wilson	H.	Madman's morris.
S. R. 1660		Mador King of Britain, The history of.
Middleton	E.	Mad World my masters.
	—	Mænander's Extasy. See Cynthia's Revenge.
Jonson	E.	Magnetic lady; or Humors reconciled.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Peele	H.	Mahomet, [The Turkish, and Hiren the fair Greek].
? Day, ? Marlow; S. R. 1654	W.	Maiden's Holiday.
Heywood	E.	Maidenhead well lost.
Fletcher, Rowley	E.	Maid in the mill.
Massinger	E.	Maid of Honor.
1600	E.	Maid's Metamorphosis.
Shirley	E.	Maid's revenge.
Beaumont, Fletcher	E.	Maid's tragedy.
—	—	Maiden's tragedy, The second. See Usurping tyrant.
1602	H.	Malcolm King of Scots. [Query, a Macbeth play.]
Marston, Webster	E.	Malcontent; or One for another.
—	—	Malvolio. See Twelfth Night.
pub. 1651	E.	Marcus Tullius Cicero.
Carew, Eliz.	E.	Mariam, the fair queen of Jewry.
—	—	Marius and Sylla. See Wounds of civil war.
—	—	Marriage of the arts. See Technogamia.
—	—	Marriage without a man. See Iphis and Ianthe.
—	—	Marshal Osric. See Royal King and Loyal Subject.
—	—	Martial maid. See Love's cure.
1597	H.	Martin Swart, Life and death of.
Shirley, H.	E.	Martyred Soldier.
—	—	Masculine Bride. See Whimsies of Senor Hidalgo.
Marlowe	E.	Massacre of Paris with the death of the Duke of Guise.
Rowley	E.	Match at midnight.
—	—	Matchless maids. See Nonparells.
[Day], Dekker	E.	Match me in London.
Rowley, S.	R.	Match or no match.
—	—	Matilda. See John and Matilda.
1594	H.	Maw.
Chapman	E.	Mayday [Disguises].
—	—	May lord. See Sad Shepherd.
Middleton	E.	Mayor of Quinborough; or Hengist King of Kent.
Shakespeare	E.	Measure for Measure.
Dekker	H.	Medicine for a curst wife.
Rowlands, S.; S. R. 1615		Melancholy Knight. Not a play.
—	—	Mendall, Lord. See Peaceable King.
1594	H.	Merchant of Emden.
Shakespeare	E.	Merchant of Venice.
MS. War.	W.	Merchant's Sacrifice.
Braithwaite	E.	Mercurius Britannicus.
—	—	Merry, The tragedy of (Thomas). See Beech's tragedy.
—	—	Merry beggars. See Jovial Crew.
[Drayton]	E.	Merry devil of Edmonton.
—		Merry tricks. See Ram Alley.
Shakespeare	E.	Merry Wives of Windsor.
Richards	E.	Messalina the Roman empress, her tragedy.
Middleton	E.	Michaelmas Term.
Nabbes	E.	Microcosmus.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Lyly	E.	Midas.
—	—	Middlesex justice of peace. See Covent Garden weeded.
Shakespeare	E.	Midsummer night's dream.
? Lee, 1598	H.	Miller [perhaps not a play].
—	—	Miller's daughter of Manchester. See Fair Em.
Massinger		Minerva's sacrifice; or, The forced lady.
Wilkins	E.	Miseries of enforced marriage.
Hughes	E.	Misfortunes of Arthur.
—	—	Mock Marriage. See English Moor.
—	—	Moll Cutpurse. See Roaring girl.
Chapman	E.	M. D'Olive. [Will of a Woman; Fountain of new fashions.]
Fletcher	E.	M. Thomas; or, Father's own son.
—		Moor of Venice. See Othello.
Middleton	E.	More dissemblers besides women.
Jonson		Mortimer('s fall) [part extant].
Lyly	E.	Mother Bomby.
Drayton, Monday	H.	Mother Redcap.
? Jonson		Motives (mentioned by Wood; probably in error).
[Lodge]	E.	Mucedorus the King's son of Valentia and Amadine the Queen's daughter of Arragon (with Mouse).
Shakespeare	E.	Much Ado about nothing [Love's Labour's Won].
—	—	Mulleasses the Turk and Borgias governor of Florence. See Turk.
Rankens	H.	Mulmutius Dunwallow.
—	—	Muly Morco (Mollucco). See Battle of Alcazar.
—	—	Murder will out. See Politic Queen.
Randolph	E.	Muses' looking glass.
Grevile	E.	Mustapha.
1596	H.	Nebuchadnezzar.
Percy	MS.	Necromantes; or The two supposed Heads.
lic. 1624	E.	Nero, The tragedy of.
—	—	Nest of fools. See Northern lass.
—	—	New Academy. See New Exchange.
Jonson	E.	New Inn; or The light heart.
—	—	New Ordinary. See Damoiselle.
Davenport	E.	(New) trick to cheat the devil.
Massinger	E.	New way to pay old debts.
Rowley [Middleton]	E.	New wonder; or A woman never vext.
Davenant	E.	News from Plymouth.
1647	E.	News out of the West; or The character of a mountebank.
—	—	New way to please you. See Old Law.
1595	H.	New world's tragedy.
Fletcher	E.	Nice Valor; or The Passionate madman.
Fletcher, Shirley	E.	Nightwalker; or The little thief.
men. 1656		Nineveh's repentance. [Query, Looking glass for London.]
S. R. 1595		Ninus and Semiramis, the first monarchs of the world.
—	—	Noble Bondman. See Bondman.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—	—	Noble Choice. See Orator.
Fletcher [Rowley ?]	E.	Noble gentleman.
Tourneur; S. R. 1611	W.	Nobleman.
S.R. 1653, Nov.		Noble ravishers.
—	—	Noble servant. See Osmond.
[Dekker]	E.	Noble (Spanish) soldier; or A contract broken justly revenged [Spanish fig].
Sharpe	E.	Noble Stranger.
Glapthorne; S. R. 1660	W.	Noble trial.
[Heywood]	E.	Nobody and Somebody; with the true chronicle history of Elidure.
Rowley; S. R. 1660	W.	Nonesuch.
—	—	Nonparells. See Love and Honor.
Brome	E.	Northern lass; or A nest of fools.
Dekker, Webster	E.	Northward Ho.
Le Grys; S. R. 1660	W.	Nothing impossible to Love.
Brome	E.	Novella.
Middleton	E.	No wit, no help like a woman's.
—	—	Nut. See Crack me this nut.
May	E.	Old couple.
Dekker	E.	(Old) Fortunatus, The comedy of.
? Massinger, Middleton, Rowley	E.	Old Law; or A new way to please you.
Peele	E.	Old Wive's tale.
1595	H.	Olimpio and Ingenio.
—	—	One for another. See Knave in print; and Malcontent.
Shirley	E.	Opportunity.
Massinger 1635; S. R. 1653	W.	Orator; or Noble Choice.
Cartwright	E.	Ordinary.
Dekker	H.	Orestes furious.
L. W.	E.	Orgula; or The Fatal error.
Greene	E.	Orlando Furioso, The history of.
Chettle, Day, Haughton	H.	Orphan's tragedy.
War MS.	W.	Orpheus [fragment of MS. in Brit. Mus.].
—	—	Osric. See Marshal Osric.
Carlell	E.	Osmond the Great Turk; or, The noble servant.
Shakespeare	E.	Othello, the Moor of Venice.
1602	H.	Overthrow of rebels.
—	—	Overthrow of Vespasian and Titus. See Jews' Tragedy.
Dray., Hath., Mon., Wil.	H.	Owen Tudor.
Daborne 1613; S. R. 1624		Owl.
Dekker, Jonson	H.	Page of Plymouth.
—	—	Painter. See Wandering Lovers.
1594	H.	Palamon and Arcite.
Killigrew, H.	E.	Pallantus and Eudora; or The conspiracy.
—	—	Palsgrave Prime Elector. See Hector of Germany.
1596	H.	Paradox.
Marston	E.	Parasitaster; or The fawn.
Day	E.	Parliament of Bees.
Massinger	E.	Parliament of Love.
1624; S. R. 1653, Nov.	E.	Parricide; or Revenge for Honor.
Killigrew, T.	E.	Parson's Wedding.
Carlell.	E.	Passionate Lover(s).

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—	—	Passionate Lovers. See Gripus and Hegio.
pub. 1630	E.	Pathomachia; or The battle of the affections; or Love's lodestone.
Chet., Dek., Haughton	E.	Patient Grissel.
—	—	Patient man, &c. See Honest Whore.
1623	R.	Peaceable King; or The Lord Mend-all.
Davenport; S. R. 1630		Pedlar [probably the following].
Randolph	E.	Pedler, The Conceited, pub^{d}. 1630.
pub. 1595	E.	Pedlar's prophecy.
?	MS.	Pelopidarum secunda.
Shakespeare. [Wilkins]	E.	Pericles, prince of Tyre.
Ford	E.	Perkin Warbeck, A chronicle history of. A strange truth.
W. S.	E.	Petronius Maximus, The famous history of. (Ætius and Valentinian.)
Dekker	H.	Phaeton [Sun's Darling].
Beaumont, Fletcher	E.	Philaster; or Love lies a bleeding.
[Dekker], Massinger	H.	Philenzo (Philippo) and Hippolita.
1584 at Court		Phillida and Corin.
1602	H.	Philip of Spain.
Daniel	E.	Philotas.
1596	H.	Phocas.
Middleton	E.	Phœnix.
Lower	E.	Phœnix in her flames.
Massinger	E.	Picture.
Chet., Dek., Dray., Wil.	H.	Piers of Exton.
Dekker, Drayton, Wilson	H.	Piers of Winchester.
Fletcher	E.	Pilgrim.
—	—	Pinner of Wakefield. See George a Greene.
Davenport		Pirate.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Pity the Maid.
1623	R.	Plantation of Virginia.
Davenant	E.	Platonic Lovers.
Jonson	E.	Poetaster; or The Arraignment.
S. R. 1653		Politic Bankrupt; or Which is the best girl?
Shirley	E.	Politic Father [published as The Brothers, which see].
Shirley	E.	Politician.
Davenport; S. R. 1660		Politic Queen; or Murther will out.
Chettle	H.	Polyphemus.
Kyd	E.	Pompey the great, his fair Cornelia's tragedy.
1602	H.	Pontius Pilate.
Daborne	E.	Poor man's comfort.
Haughton	H.	Poor man's paradise.
1592	H.	Pope Joan.
—	—	Prince of Tarent. See A very woman.
Massinger; S. R. 1653		Prisoner; or Fair Anchoress (of Pausilippo.)
Randolph; S. R. 1660		Prodigal Scholar.
1636 ment^{d}.		Projector lately dead.
Fletcher, [Massinger]	E.	Prophetess.
1612 at Court		Proud Maid. [Not the Maid's Tragedy.]
Haughton	H.	Proud woman of Antwerp.
1634: S. R. 1653, Nov.		Proxy; or Love's aftergame.
[Middleton]	E.	Puritan; or The Widow of Watling Street.
Middleton	E.	Puritan maid, modest wife and wanton widow. [Query, the same play.]

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
1596	H.	Pythagoras.
pub. 1653	E.	Queen; or, The excellency of her sex.
Brome	E.	Queen and Concubine.
—	—	Queen Elizabeth's troubles. See If you know not me, &c.
Habington	E.	Queen of Arragon.
[Field. Mass.] Fletcher	E.	Queen of Corinth.
Jaques	MS.	Queen of Corsica.
Brome	E.	Queen's Exchange; or Royal Exchange.
Barry	E.	Ram Alley; or Merry tricks.
Middleton	H.	Randal, Earl of Chester; or The Chester Tragedy.
1594	H.	Ranger's Comedy.
Heywood	E.	Rape of Lucreece, a true Roman tragedy.
1613 at Court		Raymond, duke of Lyons.
Rawlins	E.	Rebellion.
Massinger.	E.	Renegado.
—	—	Revenge for a father. See Hoffman.
—	—	Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois. See Bussy.
—	—	Revenge of Antonio. See Antonio.
—	—	Revenge of Byron. See Byron.
—	—	Revenge of Hamlet. See Hamlet.
—	—	Revenge for Honour. See Parricide.
Tourneur?	E.	Revenger's tragedy.
Chet., Dray., Mon., Will.	H.	Richard Cordelion's funeral.
Jonson	H.	Richard Crookback.
1593	H.	Richard the Confessor.
—	MS.	Richard 2 [Egerton MS.].
Shakespeare	E.	Richard 2, King.
Shakespeare, [Marlow]	E.	Richard 3, True tragedy of. (With death of Edward 4, Shore, and conjunction of Lancaster and York.) Evidently a sequel to
[Marlow]	E.	Richard duke of York, True tragedy of. (With death of Henry 6 and contention between Lancaster and York.) See 3 Henry 6.
Rowley, S.	R.	Richard 3; or The English Prophet. [Query Richard Crookback reformed.]
S. R. 1604		Richard Whittington, The history of.
—	—	Right Woman. See Very Woman.
—	—	Rising of Cardinal Wolsey. See Cardinal Wolsey.
Dekker, Middleton	E.	Roaring Girl; or Moll Cutpurse.
ment[d]. 1641		Roaring Girl; or The Catchpoll [same as preceding].
Chettle, Dekker, Jonson	H.	Robert 2, King of Scots.
—		Robin Goodfellow. [Forged entry in "Henslow's Diary."]
Chettle, Monday	E.	Robert Earl of Huntingdon, Downfall and death of. Otherwise 1, 2 Robin Hood.
—	—	Robin Hood, A tale of. See Sad Shepherd.
Haughton	H.	Robin Hood's pennyworths.
S. R. 1594		Robin Hood and Little John, A pastoral pleasant comedy of.
1600 H. D	H.	Roderick

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Fletcher [Jonson] Massinger	E.	Rollo duke of Normandy; or The Bloody brother.
Massinger	E.	Roman actor.
Ja. Co.	MS.	Romanus.
Shakespeare	E.	Romeo and Juliet.
Shirley	E.	Rosania; or Love's Victory; or The doubtful heir.
Stapylton; S.R. 1653, Nov.		Royal choice.
Ford; S.R. 1660	W.	Royal combat.
—	—	Royal exchange. See Queen's exchange.
Heywood	E.	Royal King and Loyal Subject [Marshal Osric].
Shirley	E.	Royal master.
Fletcher	E.	Rule a wife and have a wife.
Suckling	E.	Sad one.
Jonson	E.	Sad Shepherd; or A tale of Robin Hood: [or May lord].
Shirley; S. R. 1640		Saint Alban's.
Smith, William	W.	Saint George for England.
Shirley	E.	Saint Patrick for Ireland.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Salisbury Plain.
1602	H.	Sampson.
Lyly	E.	Sappho and Phao.
Dekker	E.	Satiromastix; or The Untrussing of the humorous poet.
Lovelace		Scholar.
Shirley	E.	School of Compliments; or Love Tricks.
Hathway, Rankin	H.	Scogan and Skelton, A book wherein is.
Beaumont, Fletcher	E.	Scornful lady.
—	—	Scythian Shepherd. See Tamberlane.
—	—	Sea feast. See Aphrodysial.
1632	MS.	Seaman's honest wife.
Fletcher (? Massinger)	E.	Sea voyage; or, The Storm.
Chettle Dekker	H.	Sebastian, King of Portugal.
—	—	Second Lucretia. See Fatal Marriage.
—	—	Second maiden's tragedy. See Usurping tyrant.
—	—	See me and see me not. See Hans Beerpot.
Jonson	E.	Sejanus his fall.
—	—	Seleo (or Steleo) & Olympo. See Cœlo et Olympo.
[Greene, Lodge]	E.	Selimus, Emperor of the Turks, The tragical reign of.
—	—	Senobia. See Zenobia.
—	—	Set at Maw. See Maw.
Monday	H.	Set at Tennis.
Kirke	E.	Seven champions of Christendom.
1595	H	1, 2 Seven days of the Week; or The Week.
Tarleton		1, 2, Seven deadly sins [Three, four, or five plays in one].
Chet., Day, Dek., Haug.	H.	Seven wise masters.
Shank, 1624		Shank's ordinary.
Rutter	E.	Shepherd's holiday.
Montague	E.	Shepherd's paradise.
Daborne, 1614		She saint.
Rowley	E.	Shoemaker's a gentleman.
Dekker	E.	Shoemaker's holiday; or The gentle craft.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
—		Shore [Life and death of M.] and of Jane Shore his wife. See Edward 4.
Chettle, Day	H.	Shore's wife (a play wherein) is written.
Harding	E.	Sicily and Naples; or The fatal union.
Cartwright	E.	Siege; or Love's Convert.
—	—	Siege of Antwerp. See Alarum for London.
1602	H.	Siege of Dunkirk with Alleyn the pirate.
1594	H.	Siege of London. [Query, Edward 4.]
?	MS.	Sight and Search.
—	—	Silent Woman. See Epicene.
Heywood	E.	Silver Age [1 Hercules].
Singer	H.	Singer's Voluntary.
pub^{d}. 1599	E.	Sir Clyomon, Knight of the golden shield, son to the King of Denmark and Clamydes, the white Knight, son to the King of Suavia, The history of the two valiant Knights.
pub^{d}. 1606	E.	Sir Giles Goosecap. Knight.
1592	H.	Sir John Mandeville.
Drayton, Hathway, Monday, Wilson	E.	Sir John Oldcastle, the good lord Cobham, The first part of the true and honorable history of the life of.
Dray., Hath., Mon., Wil.	H.	2 Sir John Oldcastle.
Brome, Heywood; S. R. 1654		Sir Martin Skink, The life and death of. With the wars in the Low Countries.
Chettle	H.	Sir Placidas.
1596	MS.	Sir Thomas More.
Dekker, Webster	E.	Sir Thomas Wyatt, The famous history of. 1, 2 Lady Jane.]
Drayton	H.	Sir William Longbeard (Longsword).
Shirley	E.	Sisters.
Haughton, Hathway, Smith	H.	1, 2 Six Clothiers of the West.
Day, Haughton	H.	Six Yeomen of the West.
Lovelace		Soldier.
S. R. 1660	W.	Soldiered Citizen; or Crafty merchant [which see].
Kyd	E.	Soliman and Perseda, The tragedy of. (With Love, Fortune, and Death.)
Marston	E.	Sophonisba; or The wonder of Women.
Denham	E.	Sophy, The.
Mabbe translator	E.	Spanish bawd, Celestina; or Calisto and Melibea. Cf. 1582.
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	Spanish Curate.
Shirley, H.; S. R. 1657		Spanish Duke of Lerma.
Dekker	H.	Spanish fig [(Noble) Spanish Soldier].
Middleton, Rowley	E.	Spanish gipsy.
—	—	Spanish lovers. See Distresses.
1605 at Court		Spanish Maz. [Query Muz., *i.e.*, Muzidorus or Mucedorus.]
	—	Spanish Moor's tragedy. [See Lust's dominion.]
MS. War.	W.	Spanish purchase.
Kyd	E.	Spanish tragedy; or Hieronimo (Jeronimo) is mad again. Horatio and Bellimperia.
—	—	Spanish Viceroy. See Honor of Women.
Brome	E.	Sparagus Garden; or Tom Hoyden of Taunton Dean.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Carlell, 1634; S. R. 1646		Spartan Ladies.
Porter	H.	Spencers.
Jonson	E.	Staple of news.
S. R. 1660		Stephen, History of King.
Chettle, Dekker	H.	Stepmother's tragedy.
—	H.	Stewtley. See Captain Thomas Stukeley.
—	—	Storm. See Sea voyage.
Gough	E.	Strange discovery. (Theagines and Chariclea).
Haughton, Pett	H.	Strange news out of Poland.
1598	H.	Sturg [Stark] flattery.
Nash	E.	Summer's last will and testament.
Dekker, Ford	E.	Sun's darling [Phaeton].
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Supposed inconstancy.
Chamberlain	E.	Swaggering damsel.
—	—	Swedland, King of. See Gustavus.
1619	E.	Sweetnam the woman hater arraigned by women.
Wilson, A.; S. R. 1646		Switzer.
Jonson	E.	Tale of a tub.
—	—	Tale of Robin Hood. See Sad Shepherd.
1592, 1596	plot	1 Tamar Cam.
1592	H.	2 Tamar Cam.
Marlow	E.	1, 2 Tamberlane the Great; or the Scythian Shepherd.
—	—	Tamer Tamed; or Taming of the Tamer. See Woman's Prize.
1589	E.	Taming of a Shrew.
[Lodge] Shakespeare	E.	Taming of the Shrew.
1593	H.	Taner of Denmark.
1594	H.	Tasso's melancholy.
—	—	Taste and Welcome. See Fast and Welcome
adv^{a}. 1658	MS.	Tell tale.
Shakespeare	E.	Tempest.
1596	H.	That (what) will be shall be.
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	Thierry and Theodoret. [See Brunhowlle.]
—	—	Thomas Merry. See Merry.
—	—	Thomas Stroud. See Blind Beggar of B. G.
T. W.	E.	Thorney abbey; or The London Maid.
[Heywood]	E.	Thracian Wonder. [War without blows and Love without suit (strife).]
Smith	H.	Three (two) Brothers.
R. W[ilson]	E.	Three Ladies of London (Lucre, Love, and Conscience).
R. W[ilson]	E.	Three lords (and three ladies) of London.
1585 at Court		Three plays in one [Seven deadly sins].
1597	H.	Time's Triumph.
Shakespeare	E.	Timon of Athens.
1596	H.	Tinker of Totness.
Chettle	H.	'Tis no deceit to deceive the deceiver.
Ford	E.	'Tis pity she's a whore.
1594	E.	Titus Andronicus [not by Shakespeare].
1592	H.	Titus and Vespasian [extant in a German version].
Chettle	H.	Tobias.
1618 at Court		Tom Bedlam the Tinker.
Chettle, Hathway, Smith	H.	Too good to be true; or Northern man.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
adv^{d}. 1658		Tooth drawer.
Nabbes	E.	Tottenham Court.
1595	H.	Toy to please chaste ladies.
Shirley	E.	Traitor.
Day, Rowley, Wilkins	E.	Travels of 3 English Brothers (the 3 Shirleys).
[Heywood and another]	E.	Trial of Chivalry, with Cavaliero Dick Bowyer.
—	—	Troubles of Great Hermenia. See Fallacy.
Middleton	E.	Trick to catch the old one.
—	—	Trick to cheat the devil. See New Trick, &c.
Dekker	H.	Triplicity (Triangle) of cuckolds.
1599	H.	Tristram de Lyons.
—	—	Triumphs of Death, Honor, Love, and Time. See Four plays in one.
Shakespeare	E.	Troylus and Cressida.
Chettle, Dekker	H.	Troilus and Cressida.
—	—	Troubles of Queen Eliz. See If you know not me, &c.
1596	H.	Troy [1 Iron Age].
Chettle	H.	Troy's Revenge.
Dekker	H.	Truth's supplication to Candlelight [Whore of Babylon].
Mason	E.	Turk; or Muleasses the Turk and Borgias governor of Florence.
Peele	H.	Turkish Mahomet and Hiren (Irene) the Fair Greek.
Shakespeare	E.	Twelfth Night; or What you will; Malvolio.
Rider	E.	Twins.
Niccols; S. R. 1612		Twins' tragedy.
Porter	E.	Two angry women of Abingdon (with Dick Combes and Nicholas Proverbs).
—	—	Two brothers. See Three brothers.
Shakespeare	E.	Two gentlemen of Verona.
Dek., Dra., Mid., Mon., Web.	H.	Two "harpes."
—	—	Two Italian gentlemen. See Fidele and Fortunio.
Bonen	R.	Two kings in a cottage.
Armin	E.	Two maids of Mortlake (with John in the hospital).
J. C.	E.	Two merry milkmaids; or Best words wear the garland.
Porter	H.	Two merry women of Abington [same as Two angry women].
Fletcher [Massinger]	E.	Two noble Kinsmen.
c. 1620	MS.	Two noble ladies; or Converted Conjuror [from Calderon. Acted at the Red Bull by the Revels Company].
—	—	Two supposed heads. See Necromantes.
Yarrington	E.	Two tragedies in one [Merry's and Orphan's].
pub. 1619	E.	Two wise men and all the rest fools.
Massinger; S. R. 1660	W.	Tyrant [King and Subject].
Day, Hathway, Smith	H.	Unfortunate General.
Davenant	E.	Unfortunate lovers
Nabbes	E.	Unfortunate mother.
Massinger, 1631; S. R. 1653		Unfortunate piety; or Italian nightpiece.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
pub^{d}. 1663	E.	Unfortunate usurper (Andronicus Comnenus).
? Swinhoe	E.	Unhappy fair Irene.
Massinger	E.	Unnatural combat.
—	—	Untrussing of the humorous poet. See Satiromastix.
1611	E.	[Usurping Tyrant]. (Second Maiden's Tragedy.)
—	—	Usury put to use. See Devil of Dowgate.
1597	H.	Uter Pendragon; cf. Merlin.
S. R. 1595		Valentine and Orson.
Hathway, Munday	H.	Valentine and Orson [alteration of preceding].
Fletcher	E.	Valentinian.
1623, Her.	R.	Valiant Scholar.
J. W.	E.	Valiant Scot.
R. A[rmin]	E.	Valiant Welshman; or The Chronicle history of the life and deeds of Caradoc the great King of Cambria.
Newcastle	E.	Variety.
Chettle	H.	Vayvode.
1595	H.	Velya. ?
1594	H.	Venetian (Comedy).
Massinger	E.	Very Woman; or The prince of Tarent. Right Woman; or Woman's plot.
Glapthorne	W.	Vestal.
Dekker, Massinger	E.	Virgin Martyr [Diocletian].
Brandon	E.	Virtuous Octavia.
—	—	Vittoria Corombona. See White devil.
Jonson	E.	Volpone; or The fox.
1596	H.	Vortiger (Valtiger), cf. Merlin.
1623 at Court		Vow and a good one.
Sampson	E.	Vow breaker; or The fair maid of Clifton in Nottinghamshire.
Jordan	E.	Walks of Islington and Hogsdon (with the Wood Street Compter).
Fletcher, Massinger	R.	Wandering lovers; or the Painter. [Love's Pilgrimage.]
1594	H.	Warlam Chester.
—	—	Ward and Dansaker. See Christian turned Turk.
—	—	War hath made all friends. See Edmund Ironside.
[Lodge]	E.	Warning for fair women.
pub^{d}. 1594	E.	Wars of Cyrus King of Persia against Antiochus King of Assyria, with the tragical end of Panthea.
—	—	Wars of Pompey and Cesar. See Cesar and Pompey.
Heywood	H.	War without blows and love without suit (strife). [Thracian wonder.]
Gunnel	R.	Way to content all women; or How a man may please his wife.
pub^{d}. 1600	E.	Weakest goeth to the wall.
Shirley	E.	Wedding.
Brome	E.	Weeding of the Covent Garden; or the Middlesex Justice of Peace; or Covent Garden weeded.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
c 1623	MS.	Welsh ambassador. (Athelstan.)
1595	H.	Welshman.
Chettle, Drayton	H.	Welshman, A book wherein is the part of a. [Henry I.]
1598	H.	Welshman's prize.
1623	R.	Welsh traveller
Dekker, Webster	E.	Westward Ho.
—	—	What you please. See Whisperer.
—	—	What you will. See Twelfth Night.
Marston	E.	What you will.
—	—	When women go to law, &c. See Devil's law case.
Rowley, S.	E.	When you see me you know me; or The famous chronicle history of Henry 8.
—	—	Which is the best girl? See Politic Bankrupt.
?	MS.	Whimsies of Senor Hidalgo; or The masculine bride.
ment[d]. 1650		Whisperer; or What you please.
Webster	E.	White devil; or The tragedy of Ursini duke of Brachiano. Vittoria Corombona, the Italian courtesan.
Greene, Peele, Marlow	E.	Whole contention between the two famous houses Lancaster and York. (2, 3 Henry 6.)
—	—	Who would have thought it? See Law Tricks.
1624	R.	Whore in grain.
Dekker	E.	Whore of Babylon, a history. [Truth's supplication, &c.]
Middleton, Jonson?	E.	Widow.
—	—	Widow of Watling Street. See Puritan.
Monday	H.	Widow's Charm.
Sampson 1626; S. R. 1653	W.	Widow's prize.
Chapman	E.	Widow's tears.
Fletcher	E.	Wife for a month.
Fletcher	E.	Wildgoose chase.
—	—	William Cartwright. See Cartwright.
—	—	William Longbeard (Longsword). See Sir W. L.
1594	H.	William conqueror.
Chapman	H.	Will of a woman [M. D'Olive].
c. 1597	E.	Wily Beguiled (Scholar, Fool, and Knave).
pub[d]. 1630	E.	Wine, Beer, Ale, and Tobacco contending for superiority.
Shakespeare	E.	Winter's tale.
pub[d]. 1600	E.	Wisdom of Doctor Doddypoll.
1594	H.	Wiseman of (West) Chester [John a Kent and John a Cumber].
Heywood	E.	Wise woman of Hogsdon.
Fletcher [Middleton,] Rowley	E.	Wit at several weapons [Devil of Dowgate altered].
Middleton	E.	Witch.
Ford, Dekker, Rowley	E.	Witch of Edmonton.
1597	H.	Witch of Islington.
1623	R.	Witch traveller.
—	—	Witches of Lancashire. See Lancashire Witches.

Date or Author.		Name of Play.
Glapthorne	E.	Wit in a constable.
[Brome]; S. R. 1640		Wit in a madness.
1604	E.	Wit of a woman.
Davenant	E.	Wits.
Shirley	E.	Witty fair one.
Fletcher	E.	Wit without money.
c. 1640	MS.	Wizard.
1597	H.	Woman hard to please.
Beaumont	E.	Woman hater.
Heywood	E.	Woman killed with kindness.
Lyly	E.	Woman in the Moon.
—		Woman never vext. See New Wonder.
Field	E.	Woman's a weathercock.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Woman's law.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Woman's masterpiece.
Drue, Davenport; S. R. 1653		Woman's mistaken.
—	—	Woman's plot. See Very woman.
Fletcher	E.	Woman's prize; or The tamer tamed; or The taming of the Tamer.
—	—	Woman's spleen. See Adrasta.
1621 at Court		Woman's too hard for him. [Query, The Woman's prize.]
Chettle	H.	Woman's tragedy.
—	—	Woman wears the breeches. See City Wit; and Ghost.
—	—	Woman will have her will. See Englishmen for my money.
Middleton	E.	Women beware women.
Fletcher	E.	Women pleased.
[Day], Dekker	E.	Wonder of a Kingdom.
1595	H.	Wonder of a woman.
—	—	Wonder of women. See Sophonisba, her tragedy.
Puttenham; ment[d].		Wooer.
Cockpit 1639	R.	World.
—	—	World runs on wheels. See All Fools.
Middleton, Rowley	E.	World tost at Tennis.
—	—	World's tragedy. See New world's tragedy.
—	—	Worse afeard than hurt. See Hannibal and Hermes.
Lodge	E.	Wounds of civil war: the true tragedies of Marius and Sylla.
Chapman; S. R. 1660	W.	Yorkshire gentlewoman and her son.
—	—	Yorkshire tragedy. See All's one.
Shirley	E.	Young admiral.
S. R. 1653, Nov.		Younger brother.
Middleton	E.	Your five gallants; Five witty gallants.
1592	H.	Zenobia.

A few statistics with regard to this table may be worth recording. Over 200 items are merely secondary names, included in the list (many of them not being mentioned by Halliwell or the "Biographia Dramatica") for reference purposes. Of the rest I

give the following analysis, rough, but sufficient for my present purpose:—Extant plays, 556; plays known only from "Henslow's Diary," 217; plays known from S. R., 74; plays known from the Master of the Revels' entries 1623–4, *i.e.*, in about eighteen months, 27; plays not included in the above, destroyed by Warburton's cook, 18; plays mentioned, advertised, &c., 45. Total, 937.

It will be seen that two great losses of dramatic literature have occurred. The first of these was the burning of the Fortune theatre in 1621, when most of the original MSS. of the Palsgrave's men, who inherited the repertoire of the Prince's men under Henslow, were destroyed. A considerable number of these, however, had undoubtedly been produced at other theatres in the same way as Chapman's All Fools (acted under Henslow in 1599, but by the Revels Children before 1605), and many more were, after the Fortune was burned, revamped by their authors, who had probably preserved their copies, for other companies under other names. For instance, The Spanish Fig was revived as The Noble Spanish Soldier, and The Spanish Moor's Tragedy as Lust's Dominion or the Lascivious Queen. These considerations will show that this loss has been much over-estimated. The second loss was that caused by Warburton's outrageous carelessness, by which some fifty plays, including the greater part of Moseley's stock, and therefore included in the foregoing analysis under the head of S. R., were irrecoverably destroyed. As many of these plays were obtained from the King's company, and were attributed (though in many cases wrongly) to the best playwrights, I believe this loss to have been far more important than the other. In any case, the 1623–4 entries give us the best basis for calculating our total losses, *i.e.*, about eighteen a year, which for the fifty-seven years from 1584 to 1640 would give a deficit of about 1030, nearly double the number of extant plays. This agrees closely enough with my estimate on other grounds of 2000 plays produced in sixty-six years, 1576–1642. See my "Life of Shakespeare," p. 356.

The remaining lists contain productions of dramatic form,

but clearly and desirably separable from the plays of the public stage, with which they have been hitherto mixed. They require no special elucidation here, the tables being self-explanatory. In the mask list the immense predominance of Jonson as a mask-writer is fully brought out. The use of separating these lists may be shown by an example. In 1639, October 4, The Bloody Brother, by B. J. F., was published in London by Allott and Crooke (the S. R. entry being for Crooke and Sergier as The Bloody Brother by J. B.); in 1640 Rollo duke of Normandy was published by Lichfield at Oxford as "acted by His Majesty's Servants." The authorship of this play has hitherto defied analysis. Fletcher's share—ii. 1, 2, 3; iii. 1, 2; v. 2—in it is palpable, and it was included in the 1679 folio edition of his works. Massinger's hand is also evident in i. 1. But the residuum is unlike the work of any known coadjutor of Fletcher's in his lifetime. As, however, the play was presented at Court 24th January 1637, in the same season as Cartwright's Royal Slave, which had been acted before the King by the Christchurch students, 30th August 1636, at Oxford, and as it, unlike any other play of Fletcher's, was published at Oxford, I think it is pretty evident that it too must have been there acted in 1636, and that the Oxford publication was a claim of the right of B. J. to its copyright, he having altered it for this Court performance. The F. added to B. J. on the London title-page I think must mean Fletcher, and the true reading should have been "by B. J.; J. F." Then who was B. J.? No such initials occur in this University list; but Ben Jonson died in August 1637, and as he was M.A. of Oxford, and had undoubtedly been employed long before in refashioning plays, every external indication points to him as the "vamper" in this instance. The similarity of the scene with the Astrologers, iv. 2, to the notice of them in The Devil is an ass, i. 2, would seem to confirm this. Yet, as Jonson, who had been dead nearly three years, could not have claimed the copyright in 1640, and as the still remaining portion is unlike his work, I think the University penman who altered the play in 1636 must have been some one else. Was it Wilde, Speed, or Neal? I

cannot think it was Cartwright, and, unfortunately, am not acquainted with the plays of the other three. Jonson probably aided Fletcher and Massinger in the original version.

IX.—LIST OF MASKS AND ENTERTAINMENTS (WITH PASTORALS AND PERFORMANCES AT COURT BY THE INNS OF COURT).

Date.	Author.	Name of Mask, &c.
16—	—	Adson's Mask. MS. 10,444.
c. 1584	—	Æsop's crow mentioned in Beware the Cat.
1631	Townsend	Albion's Triumph.
1578–9	—	Amazons.
1618	—	Amazonians.
c. 1636	Milton	Arcades.
1621	Jonson	Augurs.
16—	—	Bateman's Mask. MS. 10,444.
1608	Jonson	Beauty, Mask of.
16—	—	Blackfriars Mask. MS. 10,444.
1605	Jonson	Blackness.
1637	Davenant	Britannia Triumphans.
16—	—	Broxbournbury Mask. MS. 10,444.
16—	—	Bull Mask. MS. 10,444.
1643	—	Byron, Mask containing part of Chapman's. Egerton MS. 1994.
1613	Jonson	Challenge at Tilt for a Marriage.
1610	—	Chester's Triumph.
1631	Jonson	Chloridia or Rites to Chloris.
1617	Jonson	Christmas his Mask.
1616	Middleton	Civitatis Amor. The City's Love to the Prince of Wales.
1634	Milton	Comus.
1635	—	Corona Minervæ.
Chs. I	—	Cuckolds' Mask.
1653	Shirley	Cupid and Death.
1617	White	Cupid's Banishment.
1634	Heywood	Cupid's Mistress or Cupid and Psyche (Queen's Mask).
? 1621	R. C.	Death of Dido.
1618	—	Disappointed Ladies.
Chs. I	—	Durance.
1636	Cayworth	Enchiridion Christiados.
—	—	England's Comfort. See Ovatio Caroli.
1603	Jonson	Entertainment at L. Spencer's.
1603	Jonson	„ at Coronation.
1603	Jonson	„ at Theobald's.
1604	Jonson	„ on May-day.
1606	—	„ of Christian 4 on July 24.
1606	—	„ „ on July 31.
1607	Marston	„ at Ashby.
1607	Jonson	„ at Theobald's.
1613	Campion	„ at Cawsome House.
1633	Jonson	„ at Welbeck.

Date	Author.	Name of Mask, &c.
1634	—	Entertainment by Prince Charles at Richmond.
1634	Jonson	„ at Bolsover.
1639	Nabbes	„ on Prince's birthday.
c. 1620	—	Essex antic Mask.
c. 1620	—	Fairy mask.
1635	—	Florimene.
1614	—	Flowers' mask.
c. 1620	—	Fools' mask.
1574	—	Foresters' mask.
1619	Jonson	For the honor of Wales.
1625	Jonson	Fortunate Isles.
—	—	Four Inns of Court. See Triumph of Peace.
Jas. I.		Four Seasons.
c. 1624	—	Furies' mask.
1613	—	Gentlemen's mask.
1595	—	i. Gesta Graiorum.
1618	—	ii. Gesta Graiorum.
1621	Jonson	Gipsies metamorphosed.
—	—	Goats' mask. [See Prince's mask.]
1616	Jonson	Golden age restored.
1604	—	Hampton Court mask, MS. 10,444.
1623	—	Haymakers' mask.
1608	Jonson	Hue and cry after Cupid.
1574	—	Hunters' mask.
1605	Jonson	Hymenæi.
1614	Daniel	Hymen's Triumph.
1613	Beaumont	Inner Temple and Gray's Inn mask.
1619	Middleton	Inner Temple mask of Heroes.
? 1617	Browne	Inner Temple mask [Inner T. in Nichols' Index; Middle T. in text, iii. 243.]
1614	Jonson	Irish mask.
1573	—	Janus.
1578	—	Knights, mask of.
1618	—	Ladies, mask of.
1578	Sydney	Lady of the May.
1610	—	London's love to Prince Henry.
1613	Campion	Lords' mask.
1611	Jonson	Love freed from Ignorance and Folly.
1613	Jonson	Love restored.
1630	Jonson	Love's Triumph through Callipolis.
—	—	Love's Welcome at Bolsover. See Entertainment.
1637	—	Luminalia; or Festival of Light.
1613	Bacon	Marriage of the Thames.
1640	Sadler	Masquerade du Ciel (? is this a mask).
1615	Jonson	Mercury vindicated from the Alchemists.
1621	Jonson	Metamorphosed Gipsies.
1613	Chapman	Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn mask.
c. 1571	Gascoigne	Montacute mask.
—	—	Moors' mask. See Blackness.
—	—	Mountebanks' mask. See Gesta Graiorum.
1624	Jonson	Neptune's Triumph for the return of Albion.
1621	Jonson	News from the New World discovered in the Moon.
1601	Jonson	Oberon the Fairy Prince.
1641	Taylor	Ovatio Caroli; or England's Comfort.
1624	Jonson	Owls, mask of.
1624	Jonson	Pan's Anniversary; or Shepherds' Holiday.
1574	—	Pedlar's mask.

Date.	Author.	Name of Mask, &c.
1604	Jonson	Penates.
1618	Jonson	Pleasure reconciled to Virtue.
1590	Peele	Polyhymnia.
1638	Nabbes	Presentation on the Prince's Birthday.
1575	Gascoigne	Princely pleasures of Kenilworth.
—	—	Prince's mask. See Pleasure reconciled.
1611	Jonson	Prince Henry's barriers.
1609	Jonson	Queens, mask of.
1610	—	Queen's wake.
1631	Knevet	Rhodon and Iris (pastoral).
—	—	Rites to Chloris. See Chloridia.
1604	—	Royal Passage to Whitehall.
1620	—	Running mask.
c. 1620	—	Sailors' mask.
1639	Davenant	Salmacida Spolia.
Jas. I.	—	Shepherds' mask.
c. 1633	Rutter	Shepherds' holiday (pastoral).
1633	Montague	Shepherds' Paradise (pastoral).
1582	—	Six Seamen.
1614	Campion	Somerset mask.
1638	Nabbes	Spring's Glory.
c. 1615	—	Squires' mask.
1566	Gascoigne	Supposes (comedy).
1592	Nash	Summer's last Will (comedy).
1588	—	[Sylla Dictator].
1631	Townshend	Tempe Restored.
—	—	Temple mask. See Inner Temple mask.
1634	Davenant	Temple of Love.
1610	Daniel	Tethys' festival.
1625	—	Theatre of Apollo.
1623	Jonson	Time vindicated to himself and to his honors.
1636	Shirley	Triumph of Beauty.
?	Howard	Triumph of Cupid.
1633	Shirley	Triumph of Peace.
1636	Davenant	Triumphs of the Prince d'Amour.
—	—	Twelfth Night's Revels. See Blackness.
	[Marston]	Twelve Months, mask of the.
1626	—	Virtue and Beauty Reconciled.
1617	Jonson	Vision of Delight.
1604	Daniel	Vision (or Wisdom) of the 12 Goddesses.
1620	Mid., Row.	World lost at Tennis.

X.—LIST OF UNIVERSITY PLAYS IN ENGLISH.

Date.	Author.	College and Univ.	Name of Play.
1615	Tomkis	Trinity, Camb.	Albumazar.
—	—	— —	Arcadia Reformed. See Queen's Arcadia.
1606		Trinity, Oxf.	Cæsar and Pompey.
c. 1635	Mead, R.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Combat of Love and Friendship.
1598	Ruggles	Clare Hall, Camb.	Club Law.
c. 1630	Randolph	Trinity, Camb.	Conceited Pedlar.
1637	Wilde	St. John's, Oxf.	Converted Robber.
c. 1614–22	Goffe	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Courageous Turk, Amurath I.
c. 1577	Legge	St. John's, Camb.	Destruction of Jerusalem.
c. 1615	—	— Camb.	Exchange ware at the second Hand, or Band, Ruff, and Cuff.
1564	Udal	King's, Camb.	Ezechias.
1636	Strode	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Floating Island.
1633	Fisher	Magd., Oxf.	Fuimus Troes, The True Trojans.
1641	Cowley	Trinity, Camb.	Guardian.
c. 1633	Randolph	Trinity, Camb.	Hey for Honesty.
1630	Randolph	Trinity, Camb.	Jovial Philosopher; or Aristippus.
1597–8	—	Queen's, Camb.	Lelia [Wily Beguiled].
1607	[Tomkis]	Trinity, Camb.	Lingua.
1636	Wilde	St. John's, Oxf.	Love's Hospital.
1636	Moore	— Oxf.	Moors' Mask.
1633	Goffe	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Orestes.
1566	Edwards	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Palamon and Arcite.
—	—	— —	Pedlar. See Conceited Pedlar.
c. 1599	—	[St. John's, Camb.]	Pilgrimage to Parnassus.
1615	Fletcher, P.	King's, Camb.	Piscatory: Sicelides.
1605	Daniel	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Queen's Arcadia (reformed).
c. 1614–22	Goffe	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Raging Turk, Bajazet 2.
1601	—	St. John's, Camb.	Return from Parnassus; or Scourge for Simony.
c. 1615	Ruggles	Clare Hall, Camb.	Re vera; or Verily.
1632	Hausted	— Camb.	Rival Friends.
1636	Cartwright	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Royal Slave.
Jas. I	—	— —	S. Edwardus Confessor.
1613	Brookes	Trinity, Camb.	Scyros.
—	—	— —	Sicelides. See Piscatory.
1636	Speed	St. John's, Oxf.	Stonehenge.
1618	Holliday	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Technogamia.
c. 1587	Wotton	Queen's, Camb.	Tancred.
? 1601	—	— —	Timon.
1637	Neal	— Oxf.	Ward.
1615	—	— Camb.	Work for Cutlers; or Sword, Rapier, and Dagger.

XI.—LIST OF LATIN PLAYS, 1559–1642.

Date.	Author.	College and Univ.	Name of Play.
c. 1578	Watson, T.	— Oxf.	Absalon.
1612	—	Trinity, Camb.	Adelphe.
—	Mease, P.	— —	Adrastus parentans sive Vindicta.
1615	Cecil	St. John's, Camb.	Æmilia.
1564	—	— Camb.	Ajax Flagellifer (Oxford 1605).
1605	—	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Alba.
1619	Drury W.	Schola Duacena	Alfredus.
1596	Burton, W.	— —	Amores Perinthi et Tyantes.
—	—	— Oxf.	Antoninus Bassianus Caracalla.
1612	Parsons, P.	St. John's, Camb.	Atalanta.
1570	Rickets J.	— —	Byrsa. Basilica sive Regale Excambicum.
1622	—	— —	Cancer.
16—	—	Trinity, Camb.	Catilina triumphans.
—	Ainsworth, G.	Emanuel, Camb.	Clytophon.
c. 1630	Randolph, T.	Trinity, Camb.	Cornelianum Dolium [Qy. by Braithwaite.]
1564	Halliwell, E.	King's, Camb.	Dido.
1583	Gager, W.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Dido.
1635	Wilde, G.	St. John's, Oxf.	Euphormus sive Cupido Adultus.
16—	Crouse	Caius, Camb.	Euribates.
—	—	— —	Fatum Vortigerni.
—	—	— —	Fratrum Concordia sæva sive Zeno.
1632	Stubbe	Trinity, Camb.	Fraus honesta.
16—	—	— —	Fraus pia.
16—	—	— Oxon.	Fucus sive Histriomastix.
c. 1630	Wilde, G.	St. John's, Oxf.	Hermophus.
—	Goldingham, W.	— Camb.	Herodes.
c. 1572	Adamson, P.	— —	Herodes.
1596	Morrell	— Camb.	Hispanus.
c. 1612	Atkinson, T.	— Camb.	Homo.
—	—	St. John's, Camb.	Hymenæus.
1615	Ruggle, G.	Clare Hall, Camb.	Ignoramus.
c. 1616	May, T.	Sidney, Camb.	Julius Cæsar.
1582	Geddes	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Julius Cæsar.
—	—	— Oxf.	Kermophus.
1622	Hawkesworth	Trinity, Camb.	Labyrinthus.
1590	—	Queen's, Camb.	Lælia.
1598	? Johnson, W	Camb.	Leander.
—	—	— Camb.	Leo Armenus.
1622	Hackett	Trinity, Camb.	Loiola.
—	—	— —	Lusiuncula [Macbeth].
1597	Wiburne, D.	— Camb.	Machiavellus.
1566	—	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Marcus Geminus.
1615	Brookes, S.	Trinity, Camb.	Melanthe.
1581	Gager, W.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Meleager.
1641	Braithwaite, R.	Paris	Mercurius Britannicus.
15—	Arthur, T.	St. John's, Camb.	Microcosmus.
1628	Drury, W.	— —	Mors.

Date.	Author.	College and Univ.	Name of Play.
15—	Arthur, T.	St. John's, Camb.	Mundus Plumbeus.
1638	Cowley, A.	Trinity, Camb.	Naufragium joculare.
c. 1607–13	Campion, E.		Nectar et ambrosia.
1603	Gwynne, M.	St. John's, Oxf.	Nero.
16—	—	— —	Nottola.
c. 1580	Gager, W.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Œdipus.
1627	Vincent, T.	Trinity, Camb.	Paria.
—	—	— Camb.	Parthenia.
—	—	King's, Camb.	Pastor Fidus.
1590	Wingfield, M.	Trinity, Camb.	Pedantius.
—	—	— Oxf.	Perfidus Hetruscus.
1566	Calfhill, J.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Progne.
—	Mewe	Emanuel, Camb.	Pseudomasia.
1628	Drury, W.	— —	Reparatus sive Depositum.
1579	Legge, T.	St. John's, Camb.	Ricardus 3.
1586	Lacey, H.	Trinity, Camb.	Ricardus 3.
1583	Gager, W.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Rivales.
1632	Alabaster, W.	Trinity, Camb.	Roxana.
Eliz.	—	— —	Sapientia Salamonis.
1633	Hausted, P.	Queen's, Camb.	Senile Odium.
1635	—	— —	Senilis Amor.
1596	Rollinson	— Camb.	Silvanus.
Chs. 1	Kyndar, P.	— —	Silvia (Arcadia).
1581	—	— —	Solyman (et Mustapha).
1620	—	— —	Sophomorus.
1614	Heylin, P.	Hart Hall, Oxf.	Spurius.
1588	Nash, T.	St. John's, Camb.	Terminus et non.
1618	Heylin, P.	Magdalen, Oxf.	Theomachia.
1640	—	— Oxf.	Thibaldus sive Vindictæ Ingenium.
16—	Salter, G.	— —	Tomumbeius.
c. 1580	Gager, W.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Ulysses Redux.
1638	Johnson, W.	King's, Camb.	Valetudinarium.
1631	Pestell, T.	— [Camb.]	Versipelles.
1605	Gwynne, M.	Chr. Ch., Oxf.	Vertumnus (acted by Johnians).
—	—	— Camb.	Zelotypus.
1631	Simon	— Camb.	Zeno. See Fratrum Concordia.

XII.—LIST OF LORD MAYOR'S PAGEANTS, 1585–1640 (CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED).

Date.	Author.	Mayor.	Name of Pageant.
1585	Peele	W. Dixie	Device.
1591	Peele	W. Webb	Descensus Astrææ.
1605	Monday	L. Hollyday	Reunited Britannia, Triumphs of.
1611	Monday	J. Pemberton	Chrysothriambos; Triumphs of Gold.
1612	Dekker	J. Swinnerton	Troia nova triumphans.
1613	Middleton	T. Middleton	Truth, Triumphs of.
1614	Monday	T. Hayes	Old Drapery, Triumphs of.
1615	Monday	J. Jolles	Metropolis Coronata; Triumphs of Ancient Drapery; Rich Clothing of England.
1616	Monday	J. Leman	Chrysanaleia; Golden fishing; Honor of fishmongers.
1617	Middleton	G. Bowles	Honor and Industry, Triumphs of.
1618	—	S. Harvey	Not known.
1619	Middleton	W. Cockain	Love and Antiquity, Triumphs of.
1620	Squire	F. Jones	Irenes Trophæa; Triumphs of Peace.
1621	Middleton	E. Barkham	Sun in Aries.
1622	—	P. Proby	Not known.
1623	Middleton	M. Lumley	Integrity, Triumphs of.
1624	Webster	J. Goare	Monument of Honor.
1625	—	A. Cotton	Not known.
1626	Middleton	C. Hacket	Health and Prosperity, Triumph of.
1628–31	Jonson	Was City chronologer, but prepared no pageants.	
1631	Heywood	G. Whitmore	London's Jus Honorarium.
1632	Heywood	N. Raynton	Londini Artium et Scientiarum Scaturigo. London's Fountain of Arts and Sciences.
1633	Heywood	R. Freeman	Londini Emporia or London's Mercatura.
1633(4)	—	T. Moulson	No pageant.
1634(5)	Taylor	R. Parkhurst	Fame and Honor, Triumphs of.
1635(6)	Heywood	C. Clitheroe	Londini Sinus Salutis; London's Harbor of Peace and Happiness.
1636(7)	—	E. Bromfield	Not known.
1637(8)	Heywood	R. Fenn	Londini Speculum; or London's Mirror.
1638(9)	Heywood	M. Abbot	Porta Pietatis, The Port or Harbour of Piety.
1639(40)	Heywood	H. Garway	Londini Status Pacatus: London's Peaceable Estate.

In the first column the figures between parentheses indicate the dates usually, but wrongly, assigned to the Mayoralties. I should have been content to silently correct the error (which arose from assigning a whole year to Moulson, although he was only Mayor for a few months, Freeman having died before his term of office had expired) had not, in similar instances, imputations of inaccuracy been made against me by the late Mr. Halliwell Phillipps and other writers of less repute in the columns of the *Athenæum* and elsewhere. As I have had so often in this

book to correct Mr. Phillipps' errors, I take this opportunity of doing him justice on one point: when he attacked me, he did so openly and signed his name to his remarks. Would that others would do the like! There are too many delicate monsters among our critics, whose forward and avowed voices are to speak well of their friends, but whose backward and anonymous voices are to utter foul speeches and to detract. The proofs of my dates in this instance being correct lie in the entry S. R. 1634, October 14, of Taylor's pageant as "The book of the Lord Mayor's Show for this year, 1634," and in the date "29th October 1635" on the title-page of Heywood's Sinus Salutis.

One word in conclusion. It is not to be hoped that in a work dealing with such complex entanglements, involved in more than Gordian-knots by the forgeries and guesses of Collier and his followers, thousands of whose errors are herein corrected, there should not be some errors of my own. For all shortcomings I ask for kindly correction. Printer and writer have spared no pains to ensure accuracy. There is one error, caused by weak sight and foggy weather, which I ask the reader to correct at once. In p. 172, last line, *dele* "£24, 10s. 4d. A curious amount." I read "x.s" for "x.li.," and the remark was futile. Also in p. 203 Marston's Fawn should have been placed under the head of Chapel children, who acted that play before the Paul's boys. I here also wish to record my obligation to my son John Fleay for his aid in reading the proofs. His accurate carefulness has been a great help to me, especially in the legal documents. My obligations to my only other helper in this book, Mr. James Greenstreet, have already been recorded.

POSTSCRIPT.

I HAVE, since the completion of the present work, recovered a MS. list of performances at the Court of Charles I., compiled by me some years since from the title-pages of plays, &c., and sup-

posed to be lost, which enables me to supplement the lists on pp. 315, 349 by the following additions:—

ADDENDUM.

Date.	Play.	Author.	Acted by	At	Before
pub^{d}. 1629	Deserving Favorite	Carlell	King's	Whitehall	King and Queen.
c. 1632	Careless Shepherdess	Goffe, T.	[Prince's]	Sals. Court	King and Queen.
1632	Holland's Leaguer	Marmion	Prince's	[Whitehall]	King and Queen.
1632	Fine Companion	Marmion	Prince's	Whitehall	King and Queen.
c. 1632	Amyntas	Randolph	Queen's	Whitehall	King and Queen.
c. 1632	Jew of Malta	Marlow	Queen's	Whitehall	King and Queen.
1634, May 13	Cleander	Massinger	King's	Blackfriars	Queen.
1634, Nov. 19, &c.	Love's Mistress,	Heywood	Queen's	Denmark House	
	acted 3 times within 8 days before King, Queen, and foreign ambassadors.				
c. 1635	Passionate Lover	Carlell	King's	Somerset House	King and Queen.
1635	Hollander	Glaphthorne	Queen's	—	King and Queen.
pub^{d}. 1635	Shepherd's Holiday.	Rutter	[Queen's]	Whitehall	King and Queen.
1636, May 5	Alphonsus [of Germany]	—	King's	Blackfriars	Queen and Prince Elector.
pub^{d}. 1638, Jan. 29	1, 2 Cid	Rutter	Queen's	—	—
pub^{d}. 1639, Jan. 11	Argalus and Parthenia	Glaphthorne	K. and Q.	—	—
1639	City Match	Mayne	King's	Whitehall	King and Queen.

ERRATA.

In p. 258, lines 5, 11, *read* 1622 and 1623 *for* 1621 and 1622.

„ p. 261 *insert* 1621, Jan. 6, Feb. 11 (Shrove Sunday). Jonson. News from the New World discovered from the Moon was presented.

„ p. 319, l. 12, *for* Feb. 10 *read* Feb. 18.

THE END.

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DISCARD

BETHANY
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Fleay, Frederick Gard
London stage, [illegible] - 1642.

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